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STRUGGLES

THROUGH

LIFE,

EXEMPLIFIED

IN THE

VARIOUS TRAVELS AND ADVENTURES

IN

EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, and AMERICA,

OF

Lieut. JOHN HARRIOTT,

*Formerly of Rochford, in Essex; now Resident-Magistrate of the
Thames-Police.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME II.

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PARRY, AND KINGSBURY, LEADEN-
HALL-STREET.

~~~~~  
1807.



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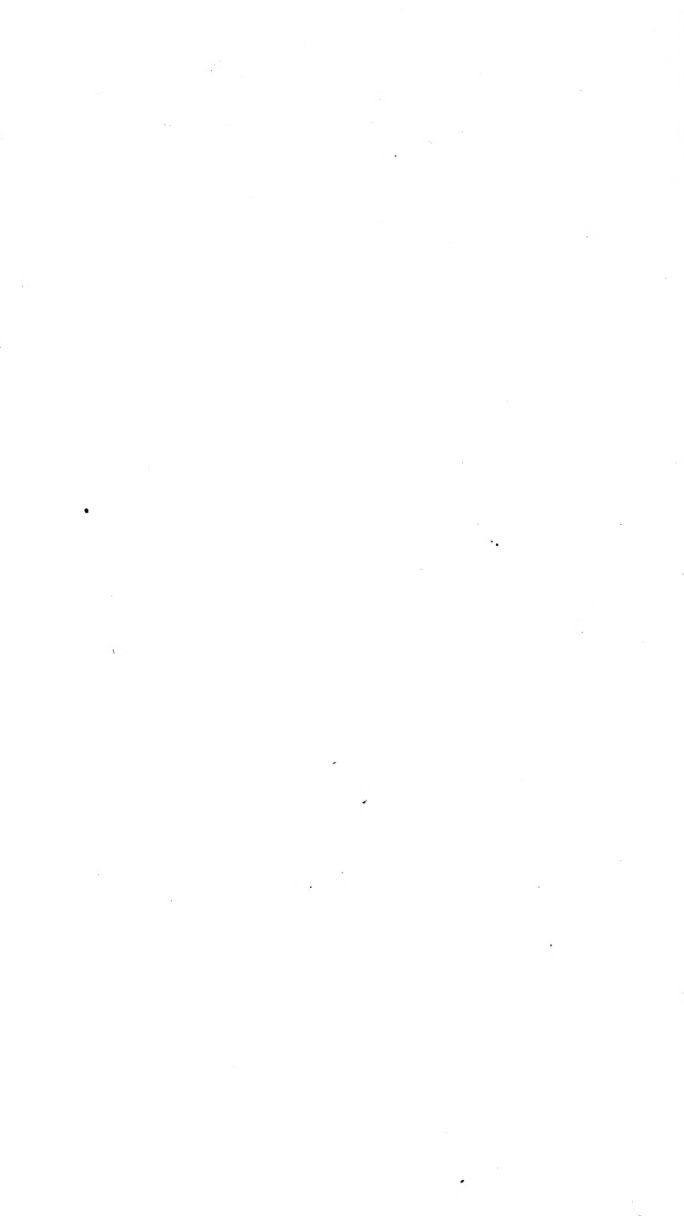
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# STRUGGLES

THROUGH

LIFE, &c.

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## CHAPTER I.

*Reasons for going to America; flattering address from neighbours; sensations on the eve of removal.*

---

IT was a difficult choice to make of two laborious struggles, my island or America. If I did not succeed with my island, my family would most probably be reduced to beggary: this was a dreadful appearance.

I made the best inquiries I could, among the first American characters in England, that came either from Canada or the United States. Without an exception, they confirmed the reports; assuring me, that, with such agricultural knowledge as I possessed, the advantages to myself

and family were certain and almost incalculable. I do not blame them; it is the natural disposition of mankind to speak as they wish and to entertain the most favourable opinion of their own country. And, when I now look back at the distance of fourteen years, and recollect the critical period, my mind agitated to an extreme, my fears and hopes alternately preponderating, whether or not to risk my little remaining all in a fresh struggle to bring my island again to a profitable state of vegetation, and which I could not expect in less than eight or ten years, I do not wonder at the effect the whole had, nor at my ready belief of their assertions.

After several months serious consideration, I resolved to collect together and dispose of all I had left, and remove where I conceived it would be so much more to the interest and welfare of my young family. What determined me at last, as much as any thing, was the consideration, that, admitting I might be disappointed in employing myself to such advantage as was held out and I expected, still, in so very cheap a country as I well remembered it to have been, at any rate we might maintain and educate our children from the income of our property; and that, as they grew up, their services would be in such request, that it would be little or no expense to procure eligible situations, by which, with a little help, they might be enabled to provide for



themselves. This I reckoned my sheet-anchor, to bring up and moor with when I supposed I could do no better. It may appear singular to many; but I was actually glad to disencumber myself of the rank I held in society, which my circumstances no longer authorised me to bring up my children to, the baneful effects of which I had often witnessed in others.

My design was, first to begin with the warm latitudes and thence travel north for a clime suited to the health of my family, examining carefully, as I passed along, for the other objects of my search. With these views, I set about arranging my affairs, to be ready for embarking in the spring following. While a single man, an hour or two was sufficient to prepare for any expedition; but I found it widely different with a large family, and most excruciatingly trying, after a long residence in the place of my birth, to resolve on leaving my native land, and the laws, government, and friends, I so much revered and loved. Difficulties, however, never yet stopped me from proceeding in what I thought right. I was ready by the time I had fixed upon, and engaged the cabin of a ship bound for Baltimore, in Maryland.

A short time before our departure, I received the following very flattering address from my neighbours, which I prize more than any other favour they could have conferred upon me, ha-

ving this strong reason for believing the sentiments genuine and from the heart, viz. that the world is seldom disposed to pay false compliments to persons in adversity. I am sensible my merits were over-rated and that they were pleased to take the will for the deed; yet I am not the less gratified. The address was as follows.

*“To John Harriott, Esq. one of His Majesty’s justices of the peace for the county of Essex, and acting in and for the division of Rochford, in the said county.*

“ Sir,

“ The time fast approaching when this country is to be deprived of your society and your services, we, the magistrates, commissioners, and principal residents, of this district, subscribers hereto, who have particularly experienced the good effects of your able, spirited, and upright, conduct in the important office with which you are invested, can not, without ingratitude and injustice, omit to make you our acknowledgements. We do, therefore, sir, for ourselves, and in the name of the inhabitants in general of this division; who, from the highest to the lowest, have been witnesses to the candour and impartiality with which you have administered public justice, (and most of whom have, either in your assistance, exertions, advice, or protection, found very substantial advantages);

return you the thanks of men unaccustomed to flatter. And we request, that, previously to your departure, you will favour us with your company at a public entertainment, that we may have the satisfaction of convincing you, personally, how sincerely we wish you health, long life, and all the enjoyments that life can afford."

"Signed at Rochford, the 14th day of March, 1793."

Towards the close of this meeting, so flattering to my mind, my heart overflowed, or it must have burst, in delivering the following short return.

"My friends, I thank you, most sincerely thank you, for the honour this day conferred by so respectable a body of men and neighbours; *men*, who I am confident are not accustomed to flatter, and, if ye were, I am too poor to be your object. That my endeavours to serve the county have merited your approbation, is the highest reward I could expect. I have only to regret that my powers were not more equal to my wishes, and that my present peculiar situation and circumstances compel me to leave a neighbourhood I have so many reasons to respect and love. May you, my friends, long enjoy, in your native land, that health, peace, and prosperity, which duty to my family obliges *me* to seek in another country. And, wherever my way-faring destiny may lead me, it will ever be

an addition to my happiness to hear of your welfare, and cherish in remembrance this honourable testimony of your approbation."

Possibly the insertion of the foregoing may be deemed vanity. Be it so; for I acknowledge myself so far proud as to have the address framed and glazed, considering it the choicest ornament in my house; and I think it would be unjust to my children and grand-children to withhold either that or the following, which, as a companion to it, my wife has had worked and framed. It was sent me, a few days after, by a reverend clergyman who attended the meeting.

*"To John Harriott, Esq. on his finally taking leave of this country;*

"The following tribute, justly due to him as a gentleman, a magistrate, and a man, is, with much respect, humbly dedicated, by his sincere friend and obedient servant,

"P——, March 23, 1793.

T. A——.

"Accept the strain, O Harriott, nor refuse  
The free-will offering of a lonely muse,  
Who, conscious of thy worth, presumes to pay  
The humble tribute of an artless lay:  
Warm from the heart it flows, as justly due  
To candour, friendship, gratitude, and you.

No servile flatterer fawns or cringes here,  
 The sentiment is pure, the line sincere.  
 Howe'er, in various views, thy traits we scan,  
 (The friend, companion, magistrate, or man,)
 Long from thy talents have thy neighbours round  
 Experienc'd pleasure and advantage found.  
 Thy social manners are endear'd to all,  
 The rich, the poor, the learn'd, the great, and  
 small.

Oft have I witness'd (midst approving eyes)  
 Thy conduct still impartial, just, and wise;  
 Thy lenient measures, and thy kind intent  
 More to reform than punish ever bent.  
 Thy converse could at once instruct and please,  
 Sound thy advice and upright thy decrees.  
 Long on the painful scene shall memory dwell,  
 The tender moment of thy last farewell:  
 Scarce could my eyes withhold the starting tear,  
 And still thine accents vibrate in my ear.  
 Since then (so fate ordains) thou wilt depart,  
 Go, with the wish of every honest heart,  
 That fav'ring Fortune may propitious smile  
 And prosp'rous breezes waft thee from this isle;  
 That Providence may all thy footsteps bless  
 And crown thy ev'ry effort with success;  
 With friendly welcome to the western shore,  
 With social comfort and with ample store,  
 With joys domestic, plenty, peace, and health,  
 Life long and happy, sweet content and wealth:

May thy lov'd consort ev'ry blessing share,  
 Thy progeny reward parental care;  
 May emulation still their bosoms fire,  
 And ev'ry son be like the worthy sire;  
 May filial piety the pains assuage  
 And prop the weakness of declining age.  
 When the last stroke shall come, (for come it  
     must,)

That lays thy mortal part in kindred dust,  
 May heav'nly bliss to earthly toils succeed,  
 And joys eternal prove thy glorious meed.  
 Such is our wish, since Hafriott will depart,  
 Torn from our eyes but never from our heart."

Those, who have never experienced similar trials, can form no adequate idea of my sensations at the eve of my departure. They can not be more strongly expressed, to correspond with mine, than in the following lines, which, on that account, I take the liberty of inserting.

" If I could bid thee, pleasant shades! farewell,  
 Without a sigh, amidst whose circling bow'rs  
 My stripling prime was past and happiest hours,  
     Dead were I to the sympathies that swell  
 The human breast. Those woods, that whisp'ring  
     wave,

My father rear'd and nurs'd, now in the grave  
 Gone down. He lov'd their peaceful shades,  
     and said,

Perhaps, as here he mused: 'Live, laurels green;  
Ye pines, that shade the solitary scene,

Live blooming and rejoice, when I am dead  
My son shall guard you, and amid your bow'rs,  
Like me, find shelter from life's beating show'rs.'

These thoughts, my father! ev'ry spot endear;  
And, while I think, with self-accusing pain,  
A stranger shall possess the lov'd domain,

In each low wind I seem thy voice to hear.  
But these are shadows of the shaping brain,  
That now my heart, alas! can ill sustain.

We must forget; the world is wide, th'abode  
Of peace may still be found, nor hard the road.  
It boots not, if, to ev'ry chance resign'd,  
Where'er the spot, we bear th'unalter'd mind.

Yet, O poor cottage! and thou sylvan shade!  
Remember, ere I left your coverts green,  
Where in my youth I mus'd, in childhood  
play'd,

I gaz'd, I paus'd, I dropp'd a tear unseen,  
(That bitter from the fount of Memory fell);  
Thinking on him that rear'd you, now farewell!"

## CHAPTER II.

*Embark with my family; land at Baltimore; disappointment; charter two vessels and turn merchant.*



IN May, 1793, I embarked with my family on board a ship bound for and belonging to Baltimore, in Maryland, where we landed in safety. I carried introductory letters to many of the most considerable characters in the United States and British Canada, as well as to private gentlemen, by all of whom I was received with very polite and friendly attentions: I mean only when the letters were delivered; for, as paying and receiving visits is rather troublesome to a man on business, I forbore delivering many where I deemed it unnecessary. Information as to my own pursuits was all I asked, which, when obtained, all the rest would have been only a hindrance.

My first object was to fix my family in a cheap and healthy situation, while I travelled through such of the United States, northward, towards Canada, as I thought most likely to suit; and to inquire, examine, and judge for myself, before



I made my election. As formerly observed, I conceived I had sufficient to maintain my family decently, without employ, in a country where they said living was still so reasonable and the demand for taxes scarcely known. However, the first day I landed I had several pounds to pay at the custom-house, for duties on our wearing-apparel, utensils, furniture, &c.; and I very soon found that neither Baltimore nor any part of Maryland or Virginia answered the description of cheap living; for, in fact, I could not maintain my family at Baltimore for nearly double the expense I could, *ceteris paribus*, in London. These were rather alarming circumstances, which, if I had been a farmer only, might have proved serious.

To obviate these local difficulties required prompt measures. Instead of farming, I chartered two sloops of one hundred tons each, and immediately commenced merchant, by purchasing flour sufficient to load them, for the sake of obtaining a passage to Rhode-Island, with my family and baggage; understanding, from various inquiries, that it was the only place likely to realise my expectation of reasonable living.

## CHAPTER III.

*Arrive at Rhode-Island; hire a house for my family; prepare for a tour through the different states.*



MY mercantile adventure afforded a decent profit, beside defraying all expenses of passage, &c. and Newport, in Rhode-Island, proved a place well adapted for temporary residence. After hiring a house, getting my family a little comfortable, and examining some farms on Rhode-Island that were to be sold, I set off on my tour.

It would be tedious to follow me in my rambles. In travelling from Boston, in Massachusetts, to Norfolk, in Virginia, I endeavoured, in my variously-repeated journeys, to cross-cut and examine such parts of the different states as were most likely to answer my own purpose; making minutes where I remarked any thing unnoticed or wrong reported by others; but, where men, manners, or things, were faithfully described, I noted such accounts in preference to any thing I could say about them, such as the geography of the country, the state-laws, &c.

It is my professed aim and sole wish, in this part of my Memoirs, to give the best and truest information in my power to all those who have or may entertain thoughts of removing to a country they are unacquainted with. It may save some from ruin, by preventing their undertaking so very hazardous a removal; and to those, who should determine to proceed, it may be a friendly guide to direct their steps where they are most likely to suit themselves agreeably to their former habits or wishes for the future.

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## CHAPTER IV.

*General observations on the United States; the lakes; venomous serpents; falls of Niagara.*

~~~~~

I SHALL make a few general observations, which, though they may appear strange and unnecessary to many, are yet needful to some thousands in Great Britain.

The English language is the language of the United States of America and Canada; it is universally understood and better spoken by the whole mass of people, from Georgia to Quebec,

(an extent of country more than 1200 miles,) than by the bulk of the people in the different counties of England.

The United States of America are composed of separate states, each of which claims a distinct sovereignty, or state-government, from the general or federal government of all the states united, which creates confusion and considerable difficulty for strangers to understand.

In Canada, however, men still continue British subjects, living under the same laws and government they had been used to. To families, not averse to settling in a healthy cold climate, British Canada holds out greater advantages for British agriculturists to settle in than the United States. A strong proof of this is, a continual great emigration from the United States to settle in Canada. But the first winter we passed in America proved so severe to the feelings of my family, as to render it useless to proceed farther northward than Rhode-Island, or Massachusetts.

The laws of the federal government are printed, and may be bought at most booksellers; but the laws of the different states are not so readily obtained. In my remarks, therefore, through those states I have travelled over, I may occasionally mention such of their laws as came to my knowledge.

I have assigned a reason for not going farther north-east than Massachusetts: on the other hand,

I found Virginia and Maryland, to the southward, too hot to be healthy for my wife and young family, beside a natural repugnance I felt at the necessity of purchasing slaves, which must be done by all who propose settling in the southern states.

I now proceed to such concise description of those parts of America I can speak to from my own knowledge; commencing with a still more concise out-line of the whole of the United States, as necessary to make the detailed part better understood by many, who scarcely know more than that such a country exists.

The United States of America extend from 31° to 46° degrees of north latitude; in length 1250 miles and in breadth 1040; containing, by computation, one million of square miles. No part of the world is better watered with springs, rivulets, rivers, and lakes, than the whole of North America. The facilities of navigation render the communication from the Mississippi to the River Saint Lawrence advantageously expeditious. Some few canals are now executing, and others are proposed, which, when completed, will open communications beneficial to the whole country; but this must be a work of time.

There is nothing in other parts of the globe resembling the prodigious chain of lakes in this part of the world: they may be termed inland seas of fresh water. Those, of the second or

third class in magnitude, are of larger circuit than the greatest lakes in the eastern continent. Lake Superior, is so called from its magnitude, being the largest on the continent. Lake Eric is nearly 300 miles long and about 40 broad. The islands and banks towards the west end of it are so infested with rattle-snakes, as to render it dangerous to land on them. Myriads of water-snakes are likewise seen basking in the sun, in summer-time, on the leaves of the water-lilly. Of all the venomous serpents that infest this lake, the hissing-snake is the most remarkable. It is about eighteen inches long, small and speckled. When you approach it, it suddenly flattens itself, and its spots, which are of various colours, become visibly brighter through rage. At the same time, it blows from its mouth, with great force, a subtle wind, said to be of a nauseous smell; and, if drawn in with the breath of the unwary traveller, it will bring on a decline, that in a few months proves mortal, and no remedy has yet been found to counteract its baneful effect: but this, I believe, to be rather problematical than certain. Not only the lakes, but all the large ponds, and their environs, in America, teem with serpents.

The north-east end of Lake Eric communicates with Lake Ontario by the River Niagara. At the entrance of this river is Fort Niagara; and, about eighteen miles north of the fort, are those

remarkable water-falls, which are reckoned among the greatest of natural curiosities. The waters, which supply the River Niagara, rise nearly 2000 miles to the north-west; and, passing through Lakes Superior, Michigan, Nuron, and Erie, and receiving constant accumulations in their course, at length rush, with astonishing grandeur, down a stupendous precipice of 140 feet perpendicular; and then, in a strong rapid stream that extends to the distance of eight or nine miles below, fall nearly as much more, the river then losing itself in Lake Ontario.

The noise of these falls, in a clear day and fair wind, is said to be heard between forty and fifty miles.

CHAPTER V.

Soil of the United States; Cooper and Priestly's bad purchase of barren lands; vegetable productions.



SOME parts of the United States are extremely rocky and stony; particularly New England, a great part of New York, and New Jersey. The soil itself, when it is so rocky and stony, and

where the land is tolerably level, is mostly of a better quality than that which is free from stone; except the interval or bottom lands, which, being formed from sediment, are the richest and almost the only real rich lands in the United States; for, in general, those that are free from rock and stone are either of a light, sandy, hungry, nature; a sheer barren sand, that will grow only pine, juniper, and hemlock; a cold heavy loam, that requires more cultivation than the scarcity of help in America will allow; or a cold clay, that will produce nothing but scrub-oak, cedars, &c.

Between the Atlantic Ocean, the Mississippi, and the Lakes, runs a long range of mountains, made up of a great number of ridges. These mountains extend north-east and south-west, nearly parallel with the sea-coast, about 900 miles in length. Of these mountains, scarcely one acre in twenty is capable of culture. The large tract of land, that Messrs Cooper and Priestly had agreed for (without examination) in the back part of Pennsylvania, and where they proposed forming an English settlement, had a considerable portion of this kind of mountainous land, which, when they went to explore, they found it most advisable to relinquish at a considerable loss; for, had it been persevered in, ruin must have been the consequence to all concerned. Yet there are some intermediate lands, between

the ridges, that are good arable and grazing lands.

Speaking of the soil of the United States generally, of the lands between the mountains and the Atlantic, the average-value is far below the lands of England, France, and Spain; but the back land, to the westward of the mountains, may be fairly said to equal that of any country.

Among the vegetable productions are the following. Indian corn, a native grain of America, from which, it is said, all the other parts of the world have been supplied; but this must be a mistake, as in China, the East Indies, &c. it has been known time immemorial. It agrees with all climates from the equator to latitude 45, but flourishes best between latitudes 30 and 40. The bunched Guinea-corn is a small grain, cultivated by negroes in the southern states, and affords a fine food for poultry. The spiked Indian corn is of a similar kind: Rice was introduced into Carolina by a Mr Johnson, in 1688: it flourishes only in Georgia and the Carolinas. Broom-corn is valuable, both on account of its seed, which is excellent for poultry, and the broom, or whisk, part, on which the seed is produced, of which the fine carpet-brooms, &c. are made. It grows wherever the Indian corn does, is planted at the same time and in the same manner, and, when young, is not unlike it in appearance.

Wheat, rye, barley, and oats, are cultivated throughout the states, some few parts excepted. In Pennsylvania is a kind of grain, called spelts, which grows much like wheat and is esteemed good for horses: the flour made from it is white, and sometimes is mixed with wheat-flour for bread. Buck-wheat likewise grows, and is made considerable use of in buck-wheat cakes.

Potatoes are said to be aboriginals of America; if so, they may be truly considered as a most valuable gift to the old country. They are of many kinds and are raised in great quantities; yet their crops, by the acre, will bear no comparison to our crops in England: they reckon from forty to one hundred bushels, an acre, a good crop. The sweet, or Caroline, potatoe does not thrive well in the northern states.

The culinary roots and plants are nearly the same as we grow in England. I think they excel us in the variety and quality of kidney-shaped beans: our broad garden-beans are but little cultivated. I did not see a good cauliflower or broccoli in America. I grew some myself on Long-Island: they were but moderately good, yet such as I sent to the Fly-market, at New-York, created some surprise; as did some winter-cabbages, the freshness and size of which astonished them. I sent several hundreds of these cabbages by the market-boats, in the spring of the year, for which I received nett three pounds fifteen shil-

lings per hundred, and the boatman, who purchased a hundred of me for four pounds, I doubt not made a good profit beside his charges. But these articles were the produce of my own labour, I could get no one else to attend to them.

There is a wild plant in America, called the devil's bit, having the print of teeth in the root. The Indians have a tradition that the root was once a universal remedy for all diseases; but some evil spirit, envying mankind the possession of so efficacious a medicine, gave the root a bite and deprived it of a great part of its virtue.

Of fruit, apples are the most common; from which a great quantity of cider is made. They grow in great plenty and variety in the northern and middle states and in the interior, but not in the maritime parts of the southern states. Standard peaches are also in great abundance, but they have little or no wall-fruit. Apricots and nectarines are very scarce and indifferent: other fruits are nearly similar to ours.


Of nuts, they have the chesnut, black walnut, white walnut, hiccory-nut, butter-nuts, beech-nuts, ground-nuts, and a few hazle-nuts in gardens, though I met with no hazle-nuts growing wild in the woods.

Grapes, of various sorts, grow spontaneously from latitude 25° to 45° . They grow wild and run to an immense extent, yet the cultivation of

them is so much neglected that I seldom met with a good eating-grape in America.

CHAPTER VI.

Extraordinary animals; birds; snakes.



OF the extraordinary kinds of animals in America, I shall mention but two, the mammoth and the skunk. Of the first, it is (as related by American authors) conjectured that he may still exist in the vast unexplored regions towards the north-west parts of the American continent; since it is beyond doubt that he has existed, from the number and variety of the bones and teeth of this astonishing animal that are found in different parts of America. If I could have spared the time and afforded the expense, I certainly should have endeavoured to collect as many of the principal bones, teeth, &c. of this enormous animal as possible; as the gathering together every possible remnant of this stupendous beast, so as to prove its size, form, &c:

would supply a grand desideratum in natural history.*

Elephants I have seen in abundance, both wild and tame, in Asia; but the bones and teeth, which I have seen of the mammoth, appear considerably larger than those of any elephant. Nor is it possible to conceive them to be the same animal, when we consider that the one is only found in a hot tropical, and the bones, &c. of the other only in a cold wintery, climate.

The living mammoth is not found in the civilised parts of America; it is presumed, however, from his teeth, that he was carnivorous. Tusks, grinders, and skeletons, of uncommon magnitude, have been found at the Salt-licks on the Ohio, in New-Jersey, and other places.

The Indians have a tradition handed down from their fathers, respecting these animals, which I mention to shew the strong idea they must have entertained of its uncommon power, &c. They say, that, in antient times, a herd of them came to the Big-bone Licks, and began a universal destruction of the bears, deer, elks, buffaloes, and other animals, which had been created for the use of the Indians. That the great man above, looking down and seeing this, was so enraged that he seized his lightning, de-

* Since writing the above, (nine years back,) I have been much gratified in seeing the skeleton of one of these monsters exhibited in London.

scended to the earth, seated himself upon a neighbouring mountain, (on a rock, on which his seat and the print of his feet are still to be seen,) and hurled his bolts among them, until the whole were slaughtered except the big bull, who, presenting his forehead to the shafts, shook them off as they fell; but at length, missing one, it wounded him on the side. Whereon, springing round, he bounded over the Ohio, the Wabash, the Illinois, and finally over the great lakes, where, with other herds, he is said to be still living.

Some naturalists have supposed, from the bones of this remarkable animal, that it is of the same species as the elephant; others, that it answers to the hippopotamus, or river-horse. But Mr Jefferson observes, that the skeleton of the mammoth bespeaks an animal of five or six times the cubic volume of the elephant, as M. Buffon has admitted, and that the grinders are five times as large as those of the elephant, and quite of a different shape; adding, that the elephant is a native of the torrid zone and its vicinities, while the bones of the mammoth have never been found farther south than the salines of Holston-river, a branch of the Tennessee, about the latitude of $36^{\circ} 30'$ north, and as far north as the arctic circle.

The skunk is the most extraordinary animal the American woods produce: it is of the species

of the pole-cat, for which, though different in many respects, it is frequently mistaken. Its hair is long and shining, of a dirty white, mixed in some places with black spots: its tail is long and bushy, like a fox: it lives mostly in woods and hedges, yet I have had several killed in and about my barn and out-offices. It is possessed of extraordinary powers, which it exerts when pursued or thinks itself in danger. On such occasions, it ejects from behind a stream of water of so subtle a nature and so strong a smell, that the air is tainted at a surprising distance.

A gentleman, riding to my house on Long-Island, one evening, was saluted by one as he passed it; and so strongly did it perfume him, that he was obliged to shift entirely before he could be borne with in company. My servants, when they met with a like accident, have been obliged to bury their clothes in the earth for a considerable time before they could wear them, washing having but little effect. On this account, the animal is called *l'enfant du diable*, the child of the devil. I have known the carcass of one that was killed and thrown into the road, (where it laid half the summer and all the winter, looking like a dried cat's skin,) to stink so abominably when moved, that, a puppy-dog of mine having brought it near to the house, there was no bearing it, though in the open air.

The birds of America far exceed those of Europe for plumage, but are much inferior in the melody of their notes. The humming-bird is known as the smallest of the feathered tribe: its plumage surpasses description. I have known them frequently hid from sight in the blossom of a large magnolia.

There are about thirty different kinds of snakes, most of which are venomous, and many of them mortally so to the unhappy object that is bitten by them.

CHAPTER VII.

Slaves in America; thoughts on emancipation; currencies of the different states.



OF the slaves in the United States, I must repeat what a European writer has so justly observed, that, if there be an object truly ridiculous in nature, it is an American patriot, signing resolutions of independance (and let me add equality) with one hand, and brandishing a whip over his affrighted slaves with the other. This is characteristically true; yet such, it must be ac-

known, is the want of help in America, that a person is reduced to the alternative of being a slave to servants or having slaves for servants; and it requires no very great knowledge of mankind to say which of the two evils will in general be preferred.

In the middle and northern states, there are comparatively but few slaves, and of course there is less difficulty in giving them their freedom. Yet a nicety of management is required to make it a blessing to those slaves, when they gain that freedom which is the natural right of all mankind, and for the granting of which to all who are in such degraded state there can not well be a warmer advocate than myself; but I am confident it is not the best mode to grant it them hastily, nor all together.

At Rhode-Island, very soon after the peace, most of the inhabitants agreed to give freedom to all their slaves; and the fact is, that, instead of becoming industrious and living comfortably, they became a pest to society. Not knowing how to enjoy a sudden burst of liberty, they gave themselves up to all manner of rioting and excess of debauchery. To themselves, the consequence is, that they do not propagate their own species so much as when they were well clothed, fed, and kept to regular hours, by their former masters. They are now idle and lazy to a proverb, nor can they be induced to do a little

work but at extravagant wages. What money they earn, they chiefly buy spirits with for their night-frolics, when the few, that have been prevailed on to go to service, are tempted to join them and are soon persuaded to rob their masters or mistresses, in order to support these nocturnal riots, where all kinds of debauchery are practised.

There are some few exceptions, but I understood they chiefly were to be found among those negroes whose emancipation from the yoke of slavery was gradual. Societies for the manumission of slaves are instituted in various parts; they are principally supported by quakers, but the methods pursued by many, who are strong enthusiasts in the undertaking, are neither just nor honest; for, however morally wrong I might think it in another person to hold a man in slavery, I can have no right to assist in robbing him of his property, by persuading such property to run away; a practice notorious and frequently members of these societies. If I consider it a sin in my neighbour to hold slaves, and justify myself in the consideration that I have removed the sin from him, my neighbour might equally justify himself in procuring laws to compel me to embrace his religious principles, because he thinks mine are wrong: and I do not conceive the intolerance of one kind of spirit a jot more justifiable than the other.

I have digressed farther on this head than I intended in this place: I shall have occasion to mention the subject again, when I may enlarge thereon and point out a mode which I had begun for the gradual emancipation of all the slaves I was compelled to purchase (or go without servants) or might afterwards have bought. No man breathing can detest the *slave-trade* or the original methods of procuring them more than I do, nor can *that* be too soon abolished; but the emancipation of those from slavery, that are already in that state, requires a far different treatment.

The various currencies of money, in the different states, are troublesome and harassing even to the natives of the United States, and still more so to strangers. A dollar, in sterling money, is four shillings and six pence; but, in the New-England states, the currency is six shillings to a dollar; in New-York, eight shillings; in New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, seven shillings and six pence; in Virginia, six shillings; in North Carolina, eight shillings; and, in South Carolina and Georgia, four shillings and eight pence. All agree that the evil is great and wants to be remedied; but they say, such is the prejudice of the country-people in the different states in favour of the currency they have always been accustomed to, that it is feared, were an act of congress passed to enforce a general uniform

currency, the country-people would consider it as bad as they formerly did the stamp-act. To this, I have frequently taken the liberty of observing, to several members of congress and others, that, if an act were passed for no book-debt, bond, note, bill, &c. to be admitted as evidence in their courts of law, except such as were kept or made in dollars and cents, (which all the public offices and banks already do,) the evil would soon be removed without other coercion than that of self-interest.

CHAPTER VIII.

Division of New-England and general outline of the same.

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IN describing the particulars of the different states which have come within my own observation, I shall begin with those of New-England and travel on to the southward.

New-England is divided into five states, viz. New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, and Vermont: these states are subdivided into counties, and the counties into town-ships. The country is hilly and in some

parts mountainous, but the mountains are comparatively small. The vales between the ridges, while in a state of nature, exhibit a romantic appearance. They seem an ocean of woods, swelled and depressed in its surface like that of the sea.

Few countries are better watered. On the sea-coast the land is low, and in many parts level and sandy. In the valleys, between the mountains, the land is much broken and in many places rocky. It is a moderately good strong soil, capable of being cultivated to better advantage if help could be obtained on any reasonable terms, but that is not to be had. The soil, as may be supposed, is various. Each tract of different soil is pronounced good, middling, or bad, from the species of trees it produces: one species, generally predominating in each, has given birth to the descriptive names of oak-land, birch, beach, and chesnut, lands; pine barren, maple, ash, and cedar, swamps, as each species happens to predominate. Intermingled with these are walnuts, firs, elm, hemlock, moose-wood, saxifrage, &c. The best lands produce walnut and chesnut; the next best, elm, beech, and oak; lands of the third quality, fir and pitch-pine; the next, wurtle-berry and Barbary bushes; and the poorest, nothing but imperfect shrubs.

Among the fruits that grow wild are several kinds of grapes, small, sour, and thick-skinned.

The vine-stems are very luxuriant, often overspreading the highest trees in the forests. Beside these are the wild cherries, white and red mulberries, cranberries, walnuts, chesnuts, butternuts, beech-nuts, wild plums and pears, blackberries, huckle-berries, and strawberries. I have enumerated all these, because every American writer announces them in such a manner as to lead the unwary to believe that a person might almost live in the American woods on fruit and nuts; when, in fact, there is more in the sound of these things than in the reality of gratification from them, few or none, beside the cranberry, chesnut, walnut, and strawberry, being worth going after.

The soil, in the interior country, is best calculated for Indian corn, rye, oats, barley, buckwheat, and flax. In some of the farther inland parts, wheat is raised; but, on the sea-coast, it has never been cultivated with much success, being subject to blasts. Various reasons are assigned for this: some suppose these blasts to be occasioned by the saline vapours from the sea; but I can not agree to this, well knowing that many of the best wheats that are grown in England, in quantity and quality, are from sea-marshes and lands adjoining the sea. Others attribute it to the vicinity of Barbary-bushes, to the truth of which I can not speak. But the principal cause appeared to me to be the poverty

and sandy nature of the soil in general, together with exceedingly bad management.

The price of articles, mentioned under any of the different states, is to be understood as the currency of that state, unless noticed to the contrary.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Massachusetts; more grass than arable land; want of help; slaves not allowed; value of farms; orchards neglected; stone fences; difficulty of draining; contrast between 1762 and 1794.*



THE state of Massachusetts is in the latitude of from  $41^{\circ} 20'$  to  $42^{\circ} 50'$  north; its length 150 miles and breadth 60. Notwithstanding its situation so much farther (10 degrees) to the southward than England, the winters are more severe and the greater heats of the summers are easily accounted for.

The farms, farm-houses, and every thing in the country around Boston, appear more like many parts of England than any other state in America. The merchants and gentlemen of

Boston have engaged in agricultural pursuits in a more spirited manner than others; but the common husbandmen, farther in the country, continue in the old track of their fore-fathers, notwithstanding the example thus set them by the gentlemen of Boston, and the information tendered them by the agricultural society there.

Massachusetts is more of a grazing country than arable, producing very good cattle; and no market in the United States is in general so well supplied with excellent beef as Boston; but, where so little additional help is to be obtained when wanted, the farmer and all his family must slave hard the whole of the summer-months to provide provender for their cattle against the long hard winters; like Pharaoh's lean kine, devouring all the fat of the short summers. The real labour, therefore, to the farmer and his family, is severe; for additional hired help is not to be procured, and slaves in this state are prohibited by law: on himself and family alone can he depend for getting in his hay and harvest. This state of things renders it impossible to farm on any large scale to advantage, and operates nearly as much against improvements.

I found the value of farms, according to their improvements in buildings, fences, quality of soil, and situation for markets, to be from three to eighteen pounds an acre. Orchards, in general, seemed to be much neglected, the old trees



decaying fast and very little attention being paid to the planting of new ones.

There are many good strong stone fences, which answer the double purpose of clearing the land and making a fence at the same time; yet much of the land still remains covered almost with fixed rock or moveable stones. In some fields, you may see them piled up, looking, at a distance, like hay-cocks; and, where the stones are too large to be removed, a few industrious farmers dig large holes to undermine and drop them in, or blow them up with gunpowder.

Many farms would be greatly improved, if they had only common ditches or drains made, and this could only be done where the situation was favourable for carrying the water off clear beyond them. There is no law to oblige their neighbours to drain and keep their water-courses clear; the land, in consequence, is more impoverished, by being soddened with water, than it would with double the cropping.

Long previous to the revolution in America, I had repeatedly visited Boston: what a strange contrast after an absence of more than thirty years! In 1762, 64, and 65, it was the extravagance of fanatic religious folly; under the cloak of which, hypocrisy and vice prevailed to a high degree. It is true, there were no public notorious brothels nor any women of known loose conduct suffered to reside in the town; but there

was more private debauchery than I ever knew in any other part of the world. I could fill pages with the singularly laughable occurrences within my own knowledge. In 1794, I found a Roman-Catholic chapel freely tolerated, and was entertained in a handsome crowded theatre; two circumstances, which if I had ventured to predict when I first knew the place, (daring as I was known to be at that time,) I should have run some risk of being tarred and feathered. Not a single Jew was able to live there some time previous to the revolution; now there is an abundance, with every species of accommodation, bad as well as good, that can be found in the sea-ports and cities of Europe.

In the market, the difference was this: pigeons, that were formerly sold at two pence or two pence halfpenny a dozen, and often given away at the close of the market, sold, in 1794, from two shillings and six pence to three shillings a dozen; beef and mutton, that I have known sold at three halfpence and two pence, was sold from seven pence to ten pence a pound; with every other article of provision in proportion. The farmer, therefore, though he raises but a small produce, compared to the size of his farm, makes it out by the price he sells at. Himself, his wife, son, or daughter, bring much of the supplies for Boston market from ten to twenty miles round; the number of small rivulets, that

run into Boston-harbour, greatly facilitating the conveyance.

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## CHAPTER X.

*Rhode-Island healthy and pleasant; fine women; its produce; contrast between the towns of Newport and Providence; servants; climate; religion; magistrates, their power to marry people; slovenly appearance in courts of justice; value of land; Brissot's account of Newport and Providence corrected.*

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RHODE-ISLAND and Providence plantations adjoin Massachusetts to the south-west. It is only 68 miles long and 40 wide. The island itself is but 13 to 14 miles in length, and little more than 4 in width.

Being healthy and pleasant, it is a noted resort for invalids and others from the southern states. It is celebrated for fine women, and I think very justly so; nor are those of the other New-England states much behind the Rhode-Islanders for beauty. The ladies, in general, are attentive and industrious in the management of

their families; but I can not say so much of the numbers of young women who have no means of livelihood but their industry, or who reside at home a burden to their parents: of these I shall have to say more under the head of servants.

A considerable part of the land of Rhode-Island is of a tolerable good quality: the same may be said of Canonicut-Island, Block-Island, and Prudence-Island, as well as of some of the smaller islands, all lying in the bay of Naraganset.

The best milch-cows I have seen in America were here, and, generally speaking, it is a country more for pasture than grain; yet it produces good crops of Indian corn, good rye and barley, very bad oats, and tolerable flax. Wheat is seldom attempted on account of the mildewing, or blasting; but I am persuaded it is only for want of better management. Of clovers, I have noticed as large crops as can fairly grow out of the earth; and this will pretty well enable the agriculturist to judge what the land is capable of. Culinary roots and plants are grown in the greatest variety and abundance.

The western and north-western inland parts of the state are very barren and rocky, of course thinly inhabited. In the Naraganset country, the land is good for grazing, where they raise great numbers of the finest neat cattle in America. Many of the farmers keep considerable

dairies, making butter and cheese of the best American quality, and in considerable quantities for exportation. Occasionally, you may meet with an excellent cheese, as good as England or any other country can produce in the customary mode of dairying: I of course except Parmesan, Stilton, &c. Hogs they have as good and as large as can be bred in any part of the globe.

Observing one day, in Newport-market, three hogs, each of which weighed more than six hundred weight, I mentioned it in company after dinner, as worthy of remark; when Mr George Gibbs, at whose house we were, a merchant of as much probity, honesty, and integrity, as any in America; and Doctor Senter, a physician of great abilities, not unknown in the literary world and an honour to human nature; both assured me it was far from uncommon, and that they had seen a hog in the same market, not long before, that weighed more than eight hundred weight. It should be observed, that these hogs are neither bred nor fattened for exhibition, but for profitable sale.

Naraganset is famed for an excellent breed of pacing horses: they are strong and remarkable for enduring great fatigue on long journeys, but they have been so much neglected that the breed is nearly extinct.

The town of Providence is thirty miles up the river from Newport: no two towns, as neigh-

bouring sea-ports, can well form a more complete contrast with each other. Newport enjoys the finest summer-season in America, while the people in Providence might as well live in an oven, being completely surrounded with high sand-hills, from which you are continually annoyed with a sharp dust and suffocated with heat. Newport enjoys a rich soil, Providence a sandy pine barren. Newport has one of the finest harbours in America, and the easiest of access from the sea, with but little use for it. Providence has a long river to navigate, far from a commodious harbour, yet it is crowded with shipping. Newport has the best fish-market in America, and Providence one of the worst. Notwithstanding so many natural advantages in favour of Newport, yet, from the decay of trade, wharfs out of repair and going to ruin, houses falling for want of tenants, with the small number of shipping and stillness of its streets, Newport, compared with its former flourishing state, brings to remembrance the idea of Goldsmith's deserted village; while Providence, from the spirited exertions of many of its inhabitants, seems like a thriving crowded bee-hive. But there are two circumstances in which they both agree; they abound with men of sense, learning, liberality of sentiment, and understanding; and they are equally destitute of help, particularly that of domestic servants.

When young women so far condescend as to go from home, to live in any family as help-mates, (servants they will not allow themselves to be called, nor will they stile their employer master or mistress,) one of their first inquiries is, which room they are to have to receive their friends in when visited by them; and, when thus engaged as help-mates, they will still choose what kind of help they shall afford. I have known the lady of the house obliged to open the front-door when any one knocked at it, if the black servant was not in the way; and the lady has assured me, that, though the young woman who attended her child and did a little needle-work was in the passage close by the door at the time, she would walk off and leave it to the master or mistress of the house or any other that would condescend to open it; for she would quit the house immediately sooner than be seen doing, or even be required to do, any thing so menial.

To wait at table or tea is equally beneath her dignity; and, should any visiting company wish to see the infant that is under the care of the young woman, as nurse-maid, I have known the child brought to the door of the apartment, for the mistress of the house to receive from her, but no farther; and I was assured that no persuasion could prevail on her to bring the child in, unless permitted to sit down as one of the company,

and then she would be free and frolicsome enough, and handy as might be wished.

We had with us a very worthy young woman, who went out as a servant; and, contrary to most that do so go out, would not leave us, though four times the wages were offered that we had agreed to give her. She was proud to take our youngest child in her arms when walking in the streets; a thing considered so very menial, that I was told, by some of the inhabitants, their proud wenches could as soon be prevailed on to draw a wheel-barrow along the streets; yet, in point of person, accomplishments, and even property, few if any of them could altogether vie with our maid-servant.

The only exceptions are, when children have been left poor orphans and bound out until eighteen or twenty-one years of age, but these are rare. The others will do as little as they please, will visit and be visited as often as they like, for which they must have great wages; or, sooner than go out to service, they will stay at home with their fathers, mothers, brothers, &c. (who rather encourage their pride than their industry,) and sit at their spinning-wheel to earn from four pence to six pence a day.

English families, being known to expect more attention, find much greater difficulty in procuring female-servants; and, respecting male-servants, whether for the house or farming, they

are nearly as bad. Soon after making my first purchase, near Newport, in Rhode-Island, I was frequently called upon by men, who, understanding I was an English farmer, had a desire to live with me in expectation of learning something new. Their manner of application was curious enough, generally by walking in with their hats on, (let who would be in the room,) give a slight familiar nod of the head, take a chair and draw near the fire; and, inquiring if it was Mr they spoke to, they would commence the following dialogue.

“ I hear Mr has bought a beautiful farm.”
 — “ Yes.” — “ I *guess* now, you’ve brought some strange *notions* with you from the old country.”
 — “ I can not say how strange they may appear here.” — “ I warrant now, you’ll want some kind of help to assist on this farm.” — “ Yes.” —
 “ Well, I *vow* you, I should like to learn some of the old-country notions.” — “ Very likely.” —
 “ Why, to tell the truth now, I have heard a main good character of Mr and, if we could agree on terms, I swear I don’t believe that I should have any objection to live along with Mr if it were only to learn some of your English notions, you.”

But nine out of ten, that applied, would walk off, without farther inquiry, on understanding they were not to sit at my table at their meals; the same or similar provisions would not satisfy

them. The very few, that would condescend to this, must be paid extravagantly for it, and the whole of them must rather be advised with than directed as to what should be done upon the farm, especially if any thing was directed which they were not accustomed to, notwithstanding it was their avowed desire to learn something new. And, should they not approve when either directed or consulted, they are not easily persuaded to the attempt, but will refuse to do it and say, "I guess now this is one of your *strange notions*." However, it should be acknowledged they do all this in inoffensive language; just observing, "if we cannot agree it is better to part:" well knowing that they can have other employ directly, while you may be weeks or months before you obtain other help.

The winters, in the maritime parts of Rhode-Island, are milder than those in the inland country, the air being softened by a sea-vapour. The summers are cool, compared with the extreme heats which prevail in other parts of America, being frequently refreshed by breezes from the sea, but are too often troubled with thick fogs.

The religious establishments in this state depend on the voluntary choice of individuals: all men, who profess belief in one Supreme Being, are equally protected by the laws, and no particular sect can claim pre-eminence. Education of

youth is well attended to in this state, and on reasonable terms.

Justices of the peace, in this as in other states, have cognizance of small causes; and the marriage-contract, entered into and made before a magistrate at his private house, is as binding to the parties as if solemnised in a church by the clergyman. But I can not compliment any of the state-courts for regularity or order in their judicial proceedings, or even decent appearance in the judges themselves, whom I have seen sitting with long coarse trowsers and their night-caps, when trying causes.

I was better pleased with the federal or circuit court of the United States, where some degree of order and regularity was maintained, by the steady firmness of Judge Chase, from Maryland; but neither the lawyers nor people seemed to relish being kept to order. They *guessed* these were all English notions, which he had picked up while in the old country.

The value of land in this state is various, according to its quality and situation. Fifteen or sixteen miles inland from Newport, on the Naraganset side, I was offered an estate exceeding 900 acres, on which were three farm-houses and three apple-orchards: more than 600 acres of this were cleared, and I might have had the whole for 1000 guineas. Yet, in preference to this, I gave 1237*l.* sterling for a small house, an

orchard, and only 86 acres of land; and, when I left Rhode-Island, sold it again for the same. I mention this to shew how easily writers, disposed to enlist on one side of the question, may make it appear (and conformably to truth) that lands are either extravagantly cheap or dear. The truth of this I have often fully experienced, by a comparison of matters of fact with various descriptions given by former writers on the subject of America. I will therefore occasionally give a short description of some farms which I examined, the better to enable the Reader to form his own judgement.

The cheapest farm I met with at Rhode-Island belonged to Mrs Bissett; it was situate three miles from Newport, consisting of 170 acres of land, a small house, barn, and young orchard; and it was offered to me for 1100*l.* currency of New-England. Half of the land was a good kindly loam, the rest cold, wet, and hungry, and the whole exceedingly out of condition; but the smallness of the house and the want of water in the well prevented my purchasing it as a temporary residence. There was another farm, belonging to Colonel Cook, of 117 acres, good clover and barley land, the price of which was 5000 dollars. He had another farm to sell, of 140 acres, nearer the town, 50 acres of which were an unprofitable swamp; but, by proper draining and management, might have been

made the most valuable part of the farm; the rest was good light land in its nature, but worn out with improper cultivation. A crazy old house, without barn, orchard, or tree, upon the premises; the price 7000 dollars, a hazardous title, and a strange man to deal with, made me decline treating; otherwise, the swamp tempted me, though valued at little by the owner. A farm of 213 acres, with a strong old house and a large orchard, was offered me, for 4000 dollars, by Major Liman, a gentleman of whose friendship, hospitality, and suavity of manners, I shall ever retain a pleasing remembrance. The land was a cold heavy loam, wanting more help than could be obtained to get it into any tolerable order; yet it was cheap compared to many others, and I am persuaded it was tendered to me, through friendship, at less than its value.

I can not quit this state, without noticing a few from among the many misrepresentations of Brissot de Warville, in his account of Providence and Newport. Of Providence, he says: "Every thing here announces the decline of business; few vessels are to be seen in the port, and the silence, which reigns in other American towns on Sunday, reigns at Providence even on Monday." On the contrary, I aver that no town in America, for its size, has more life and bustle throughout the whole week, among the shipping at the wharfs or along the streets: the

houses, also, exhibit every mark of prosperous trade. The Baptist meeting-house, lately built, is an elegant building; the inside 80 feet square, and the steeple 180 feet high: it has a good organ, and the whole is finished in a stile that implies a far different term for this place than that of poverty.

The passage from Providence to Newport he describes as offering nothing picturesque or curious; a few houses, some trees, and a sandy soil, he says, are all that appear. I have not as yet met with any traveller, that has sailed up and down this river, who has not (with me) admired its beauties. It is true, the soil in general is sandy; but, at a distance, the eye discerns very little about the soil. The farm-houses are numerous, and you seldom lose sight of one town but another offers to view, on one side of the river or the other.

Three of these towns are sea-ports: one of them is the town of Bristol, wherein is Mount Hope, or Haup, remarkable for having been the seat of King Philip, a celebrated Indian warrior, and the place where he was killed; and at which my friend, Governor Bradford, a senator in congress, took up his hospitable residence when I was there. To this scenery may be added a number of valuable rich islands that you pass, which, with some bold rocky shores, make it a curious, picturesque, and very pleasant, passage.

In his description of Newport, I allow, that, compared with other sea-ports, it appears lifeless, and that there are numbers of idle sauntering people who do little else beside lounging about and perplexing their brains with foreign politics, of which they have a very imperfect conception. I agree with him in the melancholy appearance of many houses falling to ruin; but, when he describes the women as hideous and covered with rags, he utters a falsehood as impudent as it is notorious to all who have been at Newport; for, in no other town in America can there be seen more handsome or fewer homely women. Those, of any tolerable rank in society, are exceedingly well dressed, far beyond what I expected, and the poorest of them all are clean and neat in person and apparel. His representation of it as the asylum of famine is equally contradictory to truth; it being acknowledged, by all who know the place, that provisions are in so much greater abundance here than in any other sea-port in America, that they may be fairly estimated one-third cheaper. Nay, it is to the facility with which the poor can supply themselves with fish, in addition to the abundance of vegetables they so easily raise in their garden-plats, that so much idleness and unwillingness to place their children out to service may be accounted for. M. Brissot de Warville should rather have said, it was a good asylum

for the famished, which many of his countrymen proved, soon after his departure from Newport in so ill a humour.

There is too much truth in his remark, that the infamous and pernicious system of their paper-money had greatly injured the state; but, he ought to have noticed, that the merchants and inhabitants of Newport and Providence did, from the first to the last, firmly oppose the iniquitous measures of their infatuated legislature. I cannot account for these strange misrepresentations of Brissot, but, from a supposition, that, after being extravagantly entertained by the partisans of the French revolution at Boston, where he landed and had letters of introduction, he found himself an *unnoticed* stranger at Providence and Newport, where he was detained a day or two waiting for the packet; and, his pride being hurt, he saw every thing with a jaundiced eye. Certainly, Newport loses much in a comparison with other sea-ports, in point of traffic, &c. and its present appearance exhibits a strong contrast with its former flourishing situation before the revolution. Yet, I am persuaded it only requires the spirited exertion of a few more such merchants as Messrs Gibbs and Channing, to become again a flourishing sea-port.

CHAPTER XI.

Connecticut; situation and climate; quality of soil and produce; farming; farms; roads; buildings; taverns; litigious spirit of the inhabitants; religion and its effects.



CONNECTICUT adjoins Rhode-Island, between 41° and 42° north latitude. This state is 82 miles in length and 57 in breadth. The climate, though subject to the extremes of heat and cold in their seasons, and to frequent sudden changes, is very healthful. In the maritime towns, the weather varies as the wind blows from the sea or land: as you advance inland, it is less variable. The north-west winds, in the winter-season, are extremely severe and piercing, occasioned by the great body of snow lying undissolved in the immense forests, north and north-west. The clear and serene aspect of the sky makes great amends for the severity of the weather, and its temperament is favourable to health. Connecticut is mostly broken land, mountains, hills, and valleys, and is well watered. Some parts are thin and barren; others, a light sandy soil, full of the

white honey-suckle clover; and some a strong fertile soil.

Its principal productions are Indian corn, rye, and wheat; in some parts of the state, oats and barley, flax and onions, in great quantities; potatoes of various kinds; pumpkins, turnips, pease, beans, and fruits of most kinds, common to the climate. The soil is best calculated for pasture and mowing, which enables the farmer to feed large numbers of neat cattle and horses: mules are also raised to advantage for the West-India islands.

The farmers and their families are clothed in decent plain home-spun cloth; their linens and woollens, manufactured in the family-way, are of a strong texture and very durable. I had heard much of the good farming in Connecticut, but I found myself disappointed. With the exception of their meadow-lands, which are naturally rich and good, their farming is far below mediocrity.

While at Hartford, I examined a farm belonging to Mr Seymour, of 103 acres of land; one-half, that he called grass-land, was nothing but a bed or matt of weeds and briars, yet the soil was capable of being made either good corn, grain, or grass, land: it must be observed, that *corn* in America applies only to maize, or Indian corn. The other half of the farm was a richer

soil, partly black mould and partly hazel kind of loam, with better grass; and what was ploughed produced strong Indian corn, but all of it very foul. The house was out of repair, the barns and offices tolerable, and the water pretty good. For this farm he asked 5000 dollars. The richest flavoured pearmain I ever eat in any country was at this farm.

Colonel Wadsworth (an aid-de-camp to General Washington) living at Hartford, I waited upon him without any other introduction than that of announcing the object of my pursuits in America, and from him I received a most candid, sensible, information and caution, concerning men as well as lands. We were intimate in a few minutes; affability, frankness, and manly politeness, are conspicuous traits of his universally-respected character. He asked no more than Seymour for a farm of 150 acres, of as good land, as good a house, better orchard and fruit-trees; and this he acknowledged was dear.

Connecticut is the most populous, in proportion to its extent, of any of the states. It is mostly laid out in small farms, from 50 to 300 or 400 acres each, which are mostly held in fee-simple. The roads are very abundant, crossing each other in every direction. The towns and villages are numerous; and, from the attention paid in painting their houses and public buildings, they have a pleasing appearance.

Milford was the only exception I met with. Passing through it rather in haste, I could not learn the cause; but scarcely a house was to be seen without a great part of its windows broken and various other marks of wretchedness. The soil round Milford seemed of a light sandy nature, but the vegetation was healthy. I understood afterwards that the distress, so apparent in their houses, was occasioned by an unconquerable spirit for litigation.

The taverns on the roads through New England are in general much cleaner than the middle or southern states; but an English traveller feels much disgust at seeing most of the women and girls walking about without shoes and stockings. Yet there is a modest behaviour which precludes any loose ideas and expectations, which this appearance, in conjunction with the rosy bloom of health, might otherwise excite.

The education of youth in this state seems carried to excess: farmers, tradesmen, and mechanics, give their children a college-education, which is as frequent as that of a common boarding school in England. I have met with common sailors from Connecticut, that have been brought up at college until too nearly arrived at manhood to attend steadily to the most usual means of obtaining a livelihood. To this cause may be imputed that prevalence of a litigious spirit which

pervades the state. Disputes of the most trivial kind being settled according to law.

All religions, consistent with the peace of society, are tolerated in Connecticut; yet a rigidity prevails bordering on intolerance, and the clergy, who are numerous, maintain a kind of aristocratical influence, which operates as a check on the overbearing spirit of the democratical republican government. There are considerably more than one hundred attorneys in this state; yet, from the litigious disposition of the people, they most of them find employment.

CHAPTER XII.

New York; North River; general description of the country; comparative state of population with Connecticut; dissolute habit and practices of the farmers; city of New York; value of farms in the neighbourhood of the city; observations and comparison between the taxes in England and the greater evil of servants in America; Long Island as it is and not as formerly; misrepresented; free governments abound in lawyers.



THE state of New York is in the latitude of from $40^{\circ} 40'$ to 45° north. Hudson's, or North, River, may be considered as one of the largest and finest rivers in the United States. It rises in the mountainous country between the Lakes Ontario and Champlain: its length is above 250 miles. Sloops may sail as far up this river as Albany, 160 miles from New York: its banks are chiefly rocky cliffs, and the tide flows a few miles above Albany. The advantages of this river, for carrying on the fur-trade with Canada and its conveniencies for internal commerce, are great. The increasing population and selling of the fertile back lands, on the northern branches

of the Hudson-River, must in time greatly increase the wealth conveyed by its waters to New York.

The Mohawk-River I shall hereafter have occasion to describe more particularly, in relating in detail the journey I took to examine lands that are chiefly uncultivated, but deservedly esteemed among the richest lands in America. To insert it here would break too much into the short account I wish first to give of those states I examined.

The State of New York is intersected by ridges of mountains, running in a north-west and south-east direction. Beyond the Allegany-mountains, the country, for a considerable way, is a level fine rich soil, covered, in its natural state, with maple, beech, birch, cherry, black walnut, locust, hickory, and some mulberry, trees: hemlock-swamps are interspersed. Hemlock is a species of pine, and the trees are among the largest and loftiest in America; they are of small value and are common indications of poor land.

Of the commodities produced from culture, wheat is the staple, of which considerable quantities are raised and exported, the farmer and inland inhabitants using very little of it. Indian corn and pease are likewise raised for exportation and home-consumption; rye, oats, barley, &c. entirely for the latter. In some parts of the

state, dairies are kept, which furnish butter and cheese for the markets.

Mr Morse, of Boston, in New England, whose geographical account of America conveys more solid truth and information than all the other books that I have read on the subject, says, "That this state is but a ninth part as populous as Connecticut, but it is to be considered that Connecticut has no waste lands, and the State of New York is not half settled. The State of Connecticut, however, throughout, is three times as populous as the settled parts of New York. Now, one of these conclusions will follow; either, first, that the soil of Connecticut is preferable to that of New York; or, secondly, that the settled parts of New York would support treble the number of their present hands; or, that the people in Connecticut are better farmers and economists, or are less affluent and live poorer than the people of New York." Mr Morse then adds, that the reader is left to adopt which of these conclusions he pleases.

To this, I remark, that I find no difficulty in accounting for it. First, the soil of Connecticut, on a general average, is far beyond that of the settled parts of New York; (this is with an exception of the rich back lands, that as yet are only beginning to be inhabited). Secondly, the settled parts of New York would yield four times the produce they do, if the size of the farms

were proportioned to the quantum of labour now employed on them. The farmer would likewise reap considerably more profit, by confining his own labour, with perhaps that of a son or two and one servant, to from 80 to 100 acres of land, than to sloven over 200 or 300 acres with the same help: a fact, so general, that the farms look more like wild heaths, or a wilderness overrun with briars, bushes, and a sour coarse grass that the cattle cannot eat, than cultivated farms. From ten or twelve to thirty acres, out of 200 or 300, is the largest average employed to grow corn or grain, and this is so choked with weeds that all their attention is required to keep their Indian corn a little clean, (an article on which every American farmer chiefly depends for the support of his family,) and the rest of his farm is left worse than in a state of nature. There are some few exceptions in the neighbourhood of cities, and in a very few individuals.

Thirdly, the people in Connecticut, although bad farmers compared to English agriculturists, are better farmers than those of New York: they are more industrious, and do not spend half their time in such sottish holes, (which they dignify with the name of taverns,) as abound in the State of New York. I have been obliged sometimes to go to these country-taverns on business, and declare them infinitely worse than the meanest hedge ale-house I ever knew in England. Drink-

ing, gaming, and swearing, are carried to the greatest excess, and they are filthy to the extreme of loathing and disgust to any stranger but a Hottentot-Dutchman.

To these causes may be added, that the great quantity of rich back unsettled country tempts the sober, industrious, poor, farmer to remove from the settled parts of this state with his large family. Continual hard labour must be his portion in either situation, if he wishes to thrive; and he consoles himself with thinking that his children may benefit by his removal though he should not; and, having never enjoyed the comfort and mental pleasure of more refined society, he knows not the loss.

The inhabitants of the City of New York, the capital of the state, are composed of various nations and religions. The plan of this city is in no way regular, like Philadelphia and others, but is laid out with reference to the ground, which I think preferable to a forced and insipid regularity. The houses are mostly built of brick and the roofs tiled: there are a few still remaining, built after the old Dutch stile, serving as a foil to the English taste that now prevails.

The situation of this city is naturally healthy and pleasant, but the intolerable negligence of those in office, whose business it is to direct and see the streets, docks, and slips, kept clean, is such, that some of the streets, and, I believe,

every dock and slip, (where small craft lie,) are so abominably filthy, that any person, coming fresh from the country or off the water, can scarcely refrain from sickness in passing them, occasioned by innumerable kinds of the most nauseous stenchs that abound in warm weather. Instead, therefore, of being surprised at the yellow or any other epidemical fever prevailing, (the fatal mortality of which, at New York, I too frequently had opportunities of noticing in the summer of 1795,) I rather wonder they have it not every summer. The disputed question, whether it be imported or generated there, I shall not undertake to decide, but am well satisfied there is sufficient ground to suspect the latter; and, if not entirely so, I compare it to tinder, ready to receive the first spark of conflagration which otherwise might expire for want of such ready fuel.

York-Island, on which the city stands, is fifteen miles in length and hardly one in breadth. It is joined to the main by a bridge, still called *King's Bridge*; a name so seldom met with in America, that they seem to have taken much childish pains to alter every sound approaching to royalty: witness *King-street* to *State-street*, in Boston; *Queen-street* to *Pearl-street*, in New York; and so on throughout America. I used to ask some of the very staunch republicans, if

they would not object to have any concern with the *King* of Heaven?

A want of good water is a great inconvenience to the inhabitants, there being few good wells in the city. Most of the people are supplied every day with fresh water from a pump, near the head of Pearl-street, conveyed to their doors in casks. It is a reflection on this city, affluent as it is, that they do not have it supplied by pipes, which has often been proposed by individuals but never acceded to. It would not only be convenient, but highly beneficial in the event of fire, cleansing the streets, and purifying the air. I experienced much friendship and hospitality at New York, my acquaintance lying chiefly among the friends, or quakers.

Great improvements in agriculture can not be expected until labour is abundant and reasonable, and men are obliged to maintain a family on a small farm: the invention is then exercised to find out every improvement that may render it more productive; but, at present, men of sufficient capital, spirit, and disposition, for improvements, are prevented from the dearth of labouring hands.

Improved farms, as they are called, (for they sadly misapply the term,) are dear. I will describe a few, with their prices. At Chester, for 150 acres of very stony but otherwise tolerable land, good orchards, with an indifferent house,

I was asked 2000*l.* Another farm of 200 acres, two miles more inland, much such another house, good orchard, 50 acres of it tolerable wood but the land excessively stony, was at the same price. For a farm of 360 acres, in Great Nine Partners, Dutchess-county, sixteen miles from the North-river, a common mansion-house and a store, (shop,) with three orchards, the soil clayey and stony, so cold that no other fruit could grow but apples, with a Dutch neighbourhood, the price was 3200*l.* A farm of 200 acres, near Jamaica-town, in Long-island, a very light, sandy, hungry, soil, bad fences, and indifferent house; the price 2500*l.* Judge Ogden's farm, at Flushing, of 240 acres, a decent house though slightly built, delightful summer-residence, but very bleak in Winter, the soil various, but most of it cold, hungry, and indifferent, good springs at a distance, but the well, for use of the house, dry all summer, an old orchard, and a moderate garden, with fishing and oysters in plenty along the shore; the price 4000*l.*

These were the prices in 1793, since which they have risen considerably. In 1795, Judge Ogden asked 5000*l.* About two miles from this, I was tempted to make a purchase. I had previously viewed all the states between Virginia and Massachusetts, (both included,) and considered it the most eligible spot I had seen in America; and where, if any where, I might at

least sit down with ease and comfort. Farming on a large scale, or settling in the back wild countries, I had given up as a vain and fruitless attempt before I made this purchase, as will be seen hereafter.

To English farmers it may sound prettily, that there are no tythes and but few taxes to pay in America; but, in plain truth, I proved it to be far worse to farm there than in England, (as to profit and comfort,) with all the weight, so much complained of, of tythes and taxes. Comparative experience of both clearly demonstrated, it was preferable to live in any line of life in England, even though I were to pay double the amount of taxes that were ever yet paid.

Having often made this declaration to gentlemen, in America, who expressed their surprise, I explained by saying it was their single *tax of servants*, which, in point of real value in comforts, outweighed all we knew of taxes in England; from the inconveniences and difficulties attending which, in America, no money or wealth could excuse them. It was therefore better for those, who employed servants, to pay any price in cash, even to double or treble the amount of all English taxes, than be robbed of nearly every domestic comfort and convenience, from the almost total want of servants in America, either for agricultural or domestic uses.

What is the use of money but to make life comfortable? By parting with so much in England, under the head of taxes, I could enjoy every comfort suited to my situation, and have any number of tolerable servants for every purpose I might want in or out of business; but, in America, pay what you will, the benefit expected to be derived from servants is not to be purchased. It is therefore cheaper to pay in money than in comforts, which money can not purchase.

Long-Island, where I thus made an attempt to farm on a small scale, is 140 miles long and in no part wider than 14. I think no place in America has been so generally misrepresented as this, which is so easy of access. All Europeans, that I have heard speak of this island without having seen it, reckon it as a garden of Eden, or American paradise; by which name, I should understand a very rich luxuriant soil, well cultivated. It is neither the one nor the other, there being but little natural good land compared with the bad; and, except five or six miles round from Brooklyn, opposite to New York, (where the lands are valuable from their vicinity to such a market, and are therefore better attended to and well manured for America,) there are but few farms, throughout the island, that can be said to be farmed to produce more than one-third of what they are capable of.

Almost the whole length, on the south side of the island near the sea, is a hungry, loose, unprofitable, sandy, soil, with very few exceptions; many of these arable and grass land farms selling from seven to twelve dollars an acre. The richest parts of the island are about the west end, by New-town and Flushing, and some necks of land on the north side, projecting into the sound; but the roads in general are delightfully pleasant in summer.

Several gentlemen, from New York, have been at considerable expense in building country châteaux for the residence of their families during the summer. There is an abundance of fruit-trees as you ride along by the road-side, of which, from that abundance, the traveller is permitted to partake freely; and it is not wonderful that strangers, coming fresh from the sea and in general but little acquainted with agriculture, should be pleased, as they ride along, with what gratifies both eye and taste, and from such superficial knowledge give the whole of the island the character it bears. I made the same mistake when visiting it in my earliest voyages, when every thing that looked green I concluded was good; and the beautiful appearance of so much fruit, that we, as hungry sailors, were allowed to feast upon in common with the farmers pigs, left no doubt on the mind of its being an earthly paradise; and this was still more confirmed, by the

finding so many of the lovely daughters of Eve residing there, as willing to frolic and dance with us as we were with them. We thus saw but little of the island, and that was the best.

Long-island is divided into three counties; King's, Queen's,* and Suffolk. There is a ridge of hills extending along the inner part of the island for nearly 100 miles. Hampstead plain, in Queen's Country, is a curiosity: it is more than sixteen miles in length from east to west, and nearly eight in width: the soil was black and apparently rich, but I never met with a soil so deceitful. It was never known to have any natural growth beside a thin wild grass and a few paltry shrubs. On first examining the soil, in various parts of the plain, I could not conform to the general opinion given, that it was only capable of growing one crop of rye when first broken up, and after that would not pay the sowing. It had every appearance of a rich turnip, barley, and clover, land; but I was compelled at last to give way to the uniform testimony of the many trials that had been made, proving an almost total want of vegetative power. Still I am persuaded it only requires some particular kind of manure to create a fermentation and make it valuable land. Chalk, or chalky marle, about twenty loads to the acre, I

* The title-deeds of the estates have preserved these royal titles,

think would produce the desired effect; but there is no chalk to be had but what is imported from England, and sold by the pound at the shops. Possibly, plaster of Paris might answer; and as, from the small quantity required for an acre, the expense of trying it would not be very great, I should recommend the experiment. Almost any quantity of this land was then to be bought at one dollar an acre; and, had I remained in America, I might have been tempted to speculate on them. It is frequented by numbers of plovers, and lies common for cattle, horses, and sheep. As there is nothing to impede the prospect the whole length of the plain, it has a curious effect on the eye, very like that of the ocean.

East of this plain, about the middle of the island, is a large barren heath, overgrown with shrub-oaks and pines, where, before the revolution, there were many thousand deer; they are now scarce. It is frequented also by a number of grouse, or heath-hens.

Oysters, clams, and fish of various kinds, are caught with ease and in plenty in the bays on the south side. Were it not for this, I doubt whether a considerable part of the south side would or could be inhabited.

All free governments abound with lawyers. Where men have the privilege of thinking and acting for themselves, some will involve themselves in debt and quarrel with their neighbours:

lawyers will, of course, multiply, and America furnishes a plentiful growth of them, the State of New York having its share.

The rich uncultivated lands in the back country I shall have occasion to mention hereafter, in my account of the journey I took to examine them.

CHAPTER XIII.

New Jersey; face of the country; its produce; Newark and Elizabeth Towns, with the adjacent country; farmers preference of old methods to any new improvements; price of land; variety of soil; poverty and healthiness of the County of May.



THE state of New Jersey is separated from New York by the North-river: it is 160 miles in length and 52 in breadth. The southern counties, which lie along the sea-coast, are pretty uniformly flat and sandy: as much as seven-eighths of these southern counties, or one-fourth of the whole state, is sandy, barren, and unfit for cultivation.

This state has all the varieties of soil from the worst to the best, but has a greater proportion of

barren than most. What good lands there are, in the southern counties, lie principally on the banks of the rivers and creeks: the soil on these banks is generally a strong, rich, yellow, loam; and, while in a state of nature, produces various species of oak, hiccory, poplar, chesnut, ash, &c. The barren produce little else except shrub-oaks, with white and yellow pines; and the swamps produce cedars.

There are large bodies of salt-marshes along the Delaware and along New-York Bay, up the North-river: the spring-tides flow over them, and the large quantities of very coarse hay, that are cut and carried upland, are just capable of keeping their cattle from starving in the winter. These marshes, which they call meadows, are covered with such innumerable swarms of muskitoes and flies, in the summer, that neither man nor beast can well live for them. In Gloucester and Cumberland Counties are some large tracts of banked meadows, whose vicinity to Philadelphia makes them valuable.

About the sea-coast, the inhabitants subsist principally by feeding (not fattening) cattle on the salt-marshes, and by fish of different kinds, such as rock, drum, shad, perch, black turtle, crabs, and oisters, which the sea, rivers, and creeks, afford in abundance. They raise some Indian corn, rye, and potatoes, for their own consumption, not for exportation. Their swamps

afford lumber, consisting of boards, shingles, posts, rails, &c. which they send to good markets.

In the hilly and mountainous parts of the state, that are not too rocky for cultivation, the soil is of a stronger kind and covered, in its natural state, with stately oaks, hiccories, chesnuts, &c. and, when cultivated, produces wheat, rye, Indian corn, buck-wheat, oats, barley, flax, and fruits of the kinds common to the climate. There are, likewise, some dairy-farms of from twenty to thirty cows.

Their orchards, in many parts of the state, surpass most in the United States, and their cider is esteemed of the best quality. The surplus of their produce meets with a ready market either at New York or Philadelphia, as most convenient to that part of the state where it is raised.

The country, about Newark and Elizabeth Towns, is remarkably pleasant, and some of the land as good as any of the states bordering on the Atlantic. The towns themselves are delightful, much greater care being taken of their gardens than I observed any where else; but the houses, in these towns, are very dear. A Doctor Stiles, about three quarters of a mile from Elizabeth-town, asked me 1850*l.* for a small neat house, with a good garden and orchard, thirty acres of upland and ten of salt-marsh.

They are, in general, but slovenly bad farmers in New Jersey. A great part of them are of Dutch origin; and, although there is a kind of superficial neatness and cleanliness within and about their houses, there is much room for improvements in husbandry, which they decline adopting, thinking it a sin to deviate from the old modes taught them by their fathers. And this is pretty nearly the same with the whole body of farmers throughout America.

From Woodbridge, through Brunswick, is chiefly a cold reddish clay approaching to stony, of very little value. I was offered an estate of 280 acres, and a large house out of repair, pleasantly situate on the River Rariton, nearly opposite to New Brunswick, for 480*l.* sterling. The gentleman, who had it to sell, was a Lieutenant Gardner, nephew to Admiral Gardner. Could labour have been obtained to work the land into a proper state of cultivation, the offer would have been one of the cheapest I met with.

From the ten-mile run, through Kingston, Prince-town, and on to Trenton, the land increases progressively, in goodness and value, from five to eight, ten, and twelve, pounds an acre. There are some handsome seats about Trenton, and the falls are picturesque, forming altogether a beautiful view on the banks of the Delaware.

In one of my excursions through this state, by the way of Amboy to Burlington, my remarks were as follow. The soil, from the light-house at Sandy-hook to South Amboy, was little better than mere sand. Perth Amboy has a pleasant appearance but no trade. It continues a heavy sandy soil nearly twenty miles from Amboy, the land getting better as you approach to Cranbury.

Sixteen miles farther, through Allen's Town to Crosswick, the soil is freer from sand and more fertile. From this to Burlington, fourteen miles, the land continues mending, with a few neat farm-houses, good rail-fences, and young orchards. Burlington is situated on an island, connected with the main by a bridge: the River Delaware is in front, nearly one mile across, with several smart country-seats on the Pennsylvanian shore. For breakfasts, on the road, I usually paid two and sixpence; dinners, four shillings; supper and lodging, four shillings.

It is remarkable of the County of May, and a strong proof of its poverty or virtue, that no lawyer lives within sixty miles of it; and, of its healthiness, that no regular physician has ever found support.

CHAPTER XIV.

Pennsylvania; situation; principal rivers; face of the country; the soil; sugar-maple; produce by culture; the state less healthy than formerly; Philadelphia; credit due to the Quakers for their management of the public institutions; punishment of death commuted for hard labour; observations thereon; error in appointing American refugees to diplomatic situations in America.



PENNSYLVANIA, on the opposite shore of the Delaware to New Jersey, is 288 miles long and 156 in breadth. There are six considerable rivers, which, with their numerous branches, peninsula the whole state, viz. the Delaware, Schuylkill, Susquehanna, Gohogany, Monongohala, and Allegany.

As much as nearly as one-third of this state may be called mountainous, passing under various names, collectively forming a considerable part of the great range of Allegany mountains. The vales, between these mountains, are generally of a rich black soil, suited to various kinds of grain and grass. The face of the coun-

try in Pennsylvania, except the Allegany range of mountains, which crosses the state in an oblique direction and is from twenty to fifty miles wide, may be reckoned tolerably level, or agreeably diversified with gently-sloping hills and vales.

The soil, as may be supposed, is of various kinds. In some parts barren, in others moderate, a very fair proportion good, and no inconsiderable part very good. It is estimated, that the proportion of first-rate land is not greater in any of the states, except Kentucky.

The richest part of Pennsylvania, that is settled, is Lancaster-County. The richest, that is unsettled, is between Allegany-River and Lake Erie, in the north-west corner of the states. The natural growth of this state is similar to that of New Jersey and New York.

It is said there are larger bodies of sugar-maple in Pennsylvania than in any other state. I have frequently been obliged to use this sugar in the interior parts of the country, where no other was to be had: I found it palatable and believe it to be wholesome; but, in the present stage of things in America, I cannot, from all the accounts I could obtain, think it can be worked to profit, farther than on a small scale for the use of families living in the interior, and where the maple-tree is in abundance, who otherwise would have to buy imported sugars at an immense price.

The produce from culture consists of wheat, (the staple commodity of the state,) some ryë, Indian corn, buck-wheat, oats, speltz, barley, now raised in greater quantities to supply the breweries in Philadelphia,) hemp, flax, and vegetables of various kinds. There are several good butter-dairies. In general, their beef, pork, and cheese, are not reckoned so good as those of New England; but I have certainly seen as good beef in Philadelphia as need be shown in any market.

Pennsylvania is reckoned more unhealthy than formerly: bilious and intermittent fevers, which some years back appeared chiefly in the neighbourhood of rivers, creeks, and mill-ponds, now appear in parts remote from them and in the highest situations. The fever and ague I found prevailing in most situations, similar to what I remember it to have been in the Hundreds of Essex.

Philadelphia, at the time I was there, was the capital not only of this but of the United States. It is situated on the west bank of the River Delaware, on an extensive plain, about 120 miles from the sea.

The superior management and method of employing all the prisoners in their public goal, so much surpassed any thing I had seen or known before, as to induce me to visit it several times. I made minutes, with the intention of publishing

a full account of it, as doing honour to the benevolent and humane inspectors and conductors. Recent publications have made mine unnecessary; yet I feel a satisfaction in testifying, that it may fairly be ascribed to the Quakers, (or Friends,) that this, as well as other beneficial well-conducted public institutions, so peculiar to this state, have been carried into good effect.

Among the useful laws of this state, there is one, commuting, for death, hard labour for a long term of years, as a punishment for many crimes which are made capital by the laws of England: murder, arson, and one or two other crimes, are yet punished with death.

I observed to Mr Loundes, my friendly conductor, who repeatedly attended me, that I had long been of opinion sanguinary laws were inexpedient as well as injurious; for, admitting that a fellow-mortal had committed the greatest and most aggravated crime that imagination could suggest, what good purpose could be answered by the taking his life away? If intended as a punishment to the unhappy wretch, or with a view to deter others, it does not answer either purpose so well as close solitary confinement, (in an iron cage, where thought necessary,) totally secluded from the converse of mankind, except his keeper and any clergyman that might attend him at regular periods. If it were added, that, at certain times of the year, he should be exposed

to public view, and shewn as a dreadful example to deter others, *this* altogether would certainly be a heavier punishment than death to the unhappy wretch for the crime committed against society; and it would answer more effectually as a means to deter others, (whereas the present mode of taking life away seems rather to encourage a daring-like species of bravery, that of dying game, which they embolden each other by,) without robbing the miserable delinquent of that we have no right to take away, time for repentance, and hope of making his peace with the Almighty; to whom alone should be left the withdrawing of that life which no other power can give. To prevent offenders repeating the act, to punish temporally, and exhibit such examples as may deter others, is consistent with the social laws of compact and justice: beyond this, we have no right; it is arrogating a power belonging to the Almighty, nor can it so well answer the purpose intended. Mr Loundes agreed with me, observing it was the prevailing sentiment of most among the Society of Friends; but that they had been fearful of applying to the legislature for too much at the first, lest they might not have had granted so much as they had then obtained.

The Philadelphians are said to be neither so sociable nor hospitable as the inhabitants of other sea-ports. I will not pretend to say whether this

report is well founded or not, as I made it an invariable rule, *while travelling*, to make as few acquaintances as possible; well aware that visits of ceremony and invitations would interfere too much with my time and my pursuits. The few I did make acquaintance with, I found friendly and obliging: from some of the members attending congress, and in particular from Colonel Hamilton, while Secretary of the Treasury, I received every possible mark of polite attention and disposition to impart information.

And here, (as it occurs from the recollection of a circumstance I am unwilling to mention,) I cannot help remarking the great mistake that England has made respecting the appointment of American refugees to public offices in America. It frequently came within my observation and knowledge to remark, that England, if she were desirous of matters going on in a smooth and friendly manner between the two countries, could not have acted with more impolicy than by such appointments. It was unpleasant to the appointed, during peace, if he had any sense of mental feeling; and dangerous to his person, at any commencement of hostilities, for there existed a *deadly, inveterate, incurable, and mutual*, hatred between the refugee loyalist and the revolutionary republican: this may be considered as a sorry picture of human nature, but it is too true and, I fear, too natural.

Most of the British consuls in America are or were refugees; and, admitting their characters and abilities were equal to the appointment, and that they endeavoured to execute their trust faithfully, still it was and is all up-hill work; for, whatever these minor diplomatic agents do, or whatever they say, the Americans loath what they consider the taint of the refugee character, and there is no love lost between them. If, therefore, the British government thought it right and honourable to provide for them, those in power had better have taken any other method.

I have myself met with too many cross-rubs in life not to feel for others, and truly do I sympathise with some very honourable characters, who, from pure loyalty, suffered much; yet, in the case of the refugees in general, poor John Bull has been grievously imposed on. A considerable part of them were men of desperate fortunes; who, when at the close of the war they delivered in accounts of what they had suffered for their loyalty, made a pretty *full* account of *all* they ever had possessed, but nothing of what they had spent, lost, or owed on mortgage as well as other debts. Many of their estates did not sell for near what they were mortgaged for, although valued, in their accounts, at double and treble their real worth. Some, who were known not to be worth a shilling before the revo-

lution, are now, by the generosity of poor John, enabled to live in a state of independance; yet this is not so great an evil as such appointments.

Upon the three remaining states I examined, adjoining the Atlantic, it will be unnecessary to dwell particularly; as I can on no account think them deserving the attention of British emigrants, unless they think themselves qualified for the management of slaves, in which case *my* information is useless.

CHAPTER XV.

Delaware; smallest state in the union; short general description; price of cultivated land.



THE state of Delaware, the smallest in the union, being but 92 miles in length and 16 in breadth, of course affords but little room for emigrant-strangers to look for settlements: it is, likewise, in many parts unhealthy. The land being for the most part low and flat, occasioning much stagnated water in consequence, the inhabitants are much subject to intermittent fevers.

The south part of the state is low, and a considerable portion of it lies in forest. What is under cultivation produces little, except Indian corn, of which it is said to grow good crops. I only saw the corn in its grass state, when it looked thrifty. In some places, rye and flax are raised, but wheat in these parts is scarcely known. When nature is deficient in one resource, she is frequently bountiful in another: this is verified in the tall thick forests of pines, which are cut into boards and exported in large quantities to every sea-port in the adjoining states.

Proceeding northward, the soil is more fertile and produces good wheat. Travelling from French-Town, in Maryland, to Newcastle, in Delaware, fifteen miles out of the eighteen is in the State of Delaware, where the soil is good, the forest-trees thrifty and large, with the best white-thorn hedges I had seen. The farms are small, and sell from five to ten pounds an acre. They raise all the other kinds of grain common to Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER XVI.

Maryland; its small produce of grain by the acre; other produce; Annapolis; Baltimore; the expense of living greater than in London; strangers should be careful to make specific agreements; Mrs Walters.



MARYLAND is 134 miles in length, by 110 in breadth. An English farmer will have no high opinion of the soil, when told that good land will not produce more than twelve or sixteen bushels of wheat to the acre, and that ten bushels of wheat and fifteen of Indian corn are the annual average-crops in the state at large; but the fault lies not so much in the land, as the intolerably negligent method of cultivating it: yet wheat, as well as tobacco, are called the staple commodities of the state. The method of cultivating tobacco I shall mention in my account of Virginia.

In the interior country, or uplands, considerable quantities of hemp and flax are raised; though nothing equal to the demand of the former article, as I was well informed by a res-

pectable English gentleman, settled at Baltimore, as a rope-maker, which business I believe he finds turn to good account.

The apples of this state are mealy, their peaches plentiful and good, from which they distil peach-brandy. Their forests abound with nuts, chiefly of the black walnut kind; with these, their swine, that are suffered to run wild in the woods, are fed; and, when fattened, are caught, killed, barrelled, and exported.

The City of Annapolis is the capital of Maryland, but is of little note in the commercial world. Baltimore, where I first landed with my family, has had the most rapid growth of any town in America, and is reckoned the fourth in size and fifth in trade in the United States. There are many respectable families in Baltimore, who live genteelly; and, judging of the rest by the few I was acquainted with, they are hospitable and politely attentive to strangers. But the bulk of the inhabitants, collected from all quarters, are bent on the pursuit of wealth; to get money honestly, if they can, but at any rate to get it. This, in a small degree, I experienced, and heard much more from others, to be the case among the lower order of tradesmen and mechanics in all the large sea-ports in the United States. If you do not make a clear firm bargain, that they cannot well evade, they will endeavour by some low cunning to take an advantage. But the

gentlemen and merchants, with whom I had any connection throughout the continent, were men of sincerity, probity, and honour.

There is another order, or, to use a military term, centre rank, between one and the other; men, who aim at character and consequence, without meriting either; but, finding it too arduous and costly a task to obtain them genuine, they endeavour to bring those above them to their own level, by private insinuations: advising, in an apparent friendly way, to put you on your guard against being ruined by those they observe you place confidence in. This class are so busy and officious, that I scarcely recollect one friend, acquaintance, or connexion, that I had in any part of America, but whispers came to put me on my guard; and, if I could have credited such reports, it might have been difficult to find a trust-worthy honest man to repose confidence in. But I had been so long in the habit of seeing and judging for myself, that it produced little or no effect; and I am happy to have it in my power to aver, that, for the short time I resided in any of the sea-ports, I could not wish a more respectable friendly acquaintance in any country, with more satisfaction to myself.

Almost the whole trade of Maryland may be said to centre in the town of Baltimore, but it is neither healthy nor pleasant; and in this place, as well as Philadelphia and New York, house-

rent, clothing, education, servants, and maintenance of a family, are dearer than in London, Bristol, or Liverpool. I heard single men make the same remark; and, judging from what I paid at boarding-houses as well as the public inns and taverns, their expenses must be higher without half the comfort. A dollar and a quarter, or a dollar and a half, a day was the customary price at boarding-houses ten years back, beside paying for every thing you drink, except water.

I would recommend all strangers to make a specific agreement first, and not trust to what they may hear of their terms: if this is not attended to, they may be served the same trick that I was by a Mrs Walters, near the Indian Queen, at Baltimore. Desiring my bill, when we had been there a few days, I found we were charged one-quarter more than the other boarders. I remonstrated, saying I was willing to pay as much as others, (although we were much less at home,) but not more. She promised to alter it.

Previously to our leaving Baltimore, I told her the day, desiring my bill might be ready. She came in a hurry the day before, requesting I would oblige her with the loan of a sum of money to discharge some bills that were called for, her husband being out of the way. I lent her the money, and the following morning received my bill with the whole of her extravagant charge,

amounting to something within the sum borrowed. There was no time left for disputing it; she had the power in her own hands, laid me down the balance, and exulted in the success of her cunning. I believe they think it a merit to cheat an Englishman.

CHAPTER XVII.

Virginia; the climate and soil various; average-price of lands lower than in the other states herein mentioned; all the labour in husbandry done by slaves; Chesapeak-bay and principal rivers emptying into it; the inhabitants nearly as many slaves as free people; pernicious consequences; Mr Jefferson's recommendation; objections to Virginia; causes of unhealthiness; coal mines; high price of fire-wood; sudden changes of the atmosphere; likeness to General Washington a favourable introduction; thoughtless conduct of Virginia planters; course of crops; their management and short account of tobacco-planting; price of lands; negro-slaves hired by the year.



VIRGINIA is 758 miles in length and 224 in breadth; lying between 36° 30' and 40° north

latitude. In an extensive country, like this, it must be expected that the climate is not the same in all its parts. The uplands, approaching the mountains, are much colder than lands in the same latitude nearer the sea.

The soil has every variety from the worst to the best; and, believing from what I saw and all I could learn, the average-price of lands is considerably lower in this state than in any other to the northward and eastward; for, as to the low-priced unexplored lands farther south, in Georgia, &c. (of which, millions of acres have never been seen by those who undertake to describe and sell them,) a man might as well think of making a purchase in the moon. In Virginia, were it not for the unconquerable difficulty of procuring any other help or labour than that of slaves, a European agriculturist might purchase and farm to greater advantage than in most of the states.

The sea-ports in Virginia communicate with the ocean, through the Bay of the Chesapeak. It is one of the largest inland bays known: the entrance to this, from the sea, is between the Capes Charles and Henry, twelve miles wide, and the bay extends 270 miles to the northward. It is from seven to eighteen miles broad, and from four to nine fathom is the common depth: it affords a safe and easy navigation, with several commodious harbours. It receives the waters of

the Susquehana, Patomac, Rappahanoc, York, and James, Rivers; all large and navigable.

Of the inhabitants, there are nearly as many slaves as free. By Mr Jefferson's account, a few years back, there were 296,852 free inhabitants and 270,762 slaves. The pernicious influence this has on the morals and manners of the Virginians is, or ought to be, as great an objection to British emigrants as any thing that can be named. The inefficiency likewise of the laws, to recover debts from men of landed property, is another; laying strangers, in particular, open to serious impositions. Should a man of landed estate owe ever so much, he may laugh at his credulous creditor, and it is no uncommon case.

It is observed by a traveller, that "the Virginians who are rich are in general sensible, polite, hospitable, and of an independant spirit; the poor, ignorant and abject. They are much addicted to gaming, drinking, swearing, horse-racing, cock-fighting, and most kinds of dissipation." And again it is said, by another, that "the young men generally speaking are gamblers, cock-fighters, and horse-jockeys. To hear them converse, you would imagine that the grand point of all science was, properly to fix a gaff, and touch, with dexterity, the tail of a cock while in combat. Literary inquiries are confined to a few, while, at almost every tavern, &c. on the public roads, there is a billiard-table, back-

gammon tables, cards, and other inventions for various games. To these public-houses, the gambling gentry in the neighbourhood constantly resort to kill time, which hangs heavily on them; and, having been accustomed to it from their earliest youth, they are adepts at their business."

It was soon after my arrival in America, for the purpose of exploring the country, I received a polite letter from Mr Jefferson, (then secretary of state); in which, among other remarks, he says, "There are circumstances which would render it worth while to look also a little way southwardly: from my knowledge of the different parts of the middle states, I would advise you to visit the country lying along the little mountains, about 20 or 25 miles below the blue ridge in Virginia, crossing the Patowmac about Leesburg, passing south-westardly by the Red House, Farquhar's Court-house, Culpepper Court-house, and along the south-west mountains. There is not a healthier nor finer climate in America; the winters do not eat up the summers, as is the case to the northward. The soil of the richest and best adapted to farming, having been kept in the hands of tobacco-makers, remains *still* in its appearance, consequently cheap, but, in the hands of a farmer, capable of becoming excessively rich in a very short time."

All that Mr Jefferson has said, as above, is true; and to emigrant farmers, who may think that Virginia will suit them, this route is well worth notice. For myself, I own that I entered Virginia with a prejudice from my objections to slavery, and travelled but a short distance in the state before the number of cock-pits I continually saw, the horse-racings every where talked of, with the drinking and gambling so conspicuous at taverns even in the forenoon, convinced me that Virginia was not suited to settle my family in agreeably to my wishes.

In discoursing with a Virginian gentleman, I observed, that, if I could be induced to settle there, my intentions respecting the slaves would be to afford them all an opportunity of liberating themselves, (in the way afterwards adopted by me in Long-island); but he soon convinced me of its being impracticable *there*, unless I could content myself to live completely insulated, where all in the neighbourhood, who possessed slaves, would set their faces against and consider me as a common enemy; for this, however, I was not Quixote enough.

The changes from heat to cold, in Virginia, are very sudden, as I experienced repeatedly: these sudden and frequent transitions, together with the moist exhalations from the innumerable rivers and waters, may be reckoned a principal

cause of rendering Virginia in general so unhealthy.

There are some capital coal mines in this state; and, if I could have persuaded myself to settle here, I believe I should have speculated in this way, in preference to any other concern. A Mr Payne, of Petersburg, had just purchased the right of working a coal mine near Richmond, giving 7000*l*. Virginia money, for twenty-one years, to work any part or parts of 300 acres. The stratum of coal, as he told me, was from eighteen to thirty feet thick, and not more than fifty feet below the surface, and some parts within ten feet.

Fire-wood, in Philadelphia, New York, and most of the sea-ports, sells from six to eight, ten, and twelve, dollars a cord,* becoming scarcer and dearer every year. House-keepers expenses for firing, in all the sea-ports in America, are double to those in England. It cannot be long, therefore, before they must get into the practice of burning coal, notwithstanding the general prejudice against it, and then some of these coal mines, so near navigable rivers and easy to work, will prove of great value.

Richmond, the seat of government, is up James-river, 120 miles from Norfolk, which is at the entrance from the Chesapeak. Beside the

* Eight feet long, four feet wide, and four feet high.

water-passage, there is a good road by land, for which the coach-fare is six dollars. The road from Richmond to Fredericksburg is level and sandy; and, from Fredericksburg to Alexandria, hilly and clayey, with but little good land. The expenses of travelling are full as high as in any of the other states, with as little accommodation.

On the tenth of May, at Alexandria, we had green pease for dinner from the natural ground, and strawberries after. At the same time, from a sudden change in the weather, ourselves and others were obliged to have a good fire to warm us.

General Washington's house is pleasantly situated on the Virginia-bank of the River Patowmac, where it is nearly two miles wide and 280 miles from the sea. The mansion is conveniently large, but can not be compared to many country-gentlemen's seats in England. In travelling through various parts of different states, I often considered myself fortunate in a kind of general passport or introduction to the inhabitants, from a strong likeness which they found in me to their old general. The instances were uncommonly numerous: some of the gentlemen, who had served under him, would request me to call on brother-officers, living in the route I was taking, from a wish that others might see and remark what they said was an extraordinary likeness; and, wherever I did call, I was sure to find simi-

lar strong expressions, accompanied with every offer of civility and hospitality.

With the tobacco-planters, there appeared a paradoxical kind of thoughtless inconsistent parade, coupled with well-meant friendly offers of service, without considering their power to perform. As an instance, a gentleman, with whom I was acquainted, wished to introduce me to his friend, a senator in congress. The reception was polite; and, among other offers of civility, I was desired, whenever it was my wish to ride, to send for one or more of his horses, having no less than sixteen attending him, with a suitable number of servants (slaves) and carriages, at a heavy expense, being at the time a considerable way from home.

My acquaintance proposing a ride the next morning, orders were given accordingly; but, when we were going to mount the steeds, I could not refrain from laughing most heartily at the animals and equipage. They were complete Rosinantes, with scarcely an ounce of flesh on their bones, and the bridles and saddles in as bad plight as the horses. The bridle and girths were not only tied and mended with packthread, in lieu of buckles, but one of the stirrup-irons was suspended solely by a sugar-loaf string, instead of leather. My friend (himself a Virginian) laughed it off, observing it was a true picture of most Virginian gentlemen, who were ever ready

to offer liberally, with sincere intentions, but completely without considering whether it was in their power to perform. To have so many servants, so many horses, and so many carriages, in his suite, was essential to his consequence, but their condition was beneath his notice.

Tobacco is the staple of Virginia: it has ruined the land without benefiting the people. To grow wheat after tobacco, which is as pernicious a weed as can well injure land, and Indian corn after wheat, is with them a course of crops. These are all three exhausting crops; but, when they find their land quite crop-sick, and must have help, they turn it up for the winter, sow it in the spring with a black-eyed pea-vine, which covers the land all summer, and cattle are turned in, to feed the tops and trample the vines in, about October. They do not reckon their produce by the acre, but by the number of slaves on a plantation or farm. Thus one slave is expected to manage and produce from 2000 to 3000 pounds weight of tobacco, from 100 to 150 bushels of Indian corn, and from 30 to 40 bushels of wheat; but, by the best accounts I could get, the average of their wheat-crops did not exceed from twelve to fourteen bushels an acre. The tobacco-plants stand about four feet apart, in rows; they reckon five plants to a pound. It is first sown in beds, about Christmas; transplanted in May; hoed three times; topped, when eight or

nine inches high, leaving eight to twelve leaves; cut in August, and hung about on poles and rails until fit to house.

The lands, in Berkley and Frederic Counties, may be reckoned among the best in the state, and so is the society. The price of land is from ten to twenty dollars an acre, according to the improvements. In Farquhar and Culpepper, they are from four to six or eight dollars, and up James-river about the same.

There are many who keep negro-slaves to let out by the year. They are hired for about forty dollars a year, besides board, clothes, and taxes, which amount to near twelve dollars more. Females, about half the price.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Tour to view the back lands; set off from New York; argument between a divine and a physician; a Gentoo's opinion; advantage in travelling as a Gentoo; remarks on the road; Albany; Skenectady; cross the Mohawk; interval lands; Guy-park house; Mr Miles, a judge, member of assembly, and tavern-keeper; Sir William Johnson's large estate; Fort Hunter; the soil; bad roads and bad living; Roaf's tavern and farm; Hudson's tavern, formerly a drummer in Burgoyne's army, contrasted with the widow of an American general; German-Flats Town; a church built by Sir William Johnson; strange notion of the Indians concerning it; log-fort; log-houses destroyed by the Indians, the inhabitants murdered; value of lands; Squatters; Judge Sterling, anecdote of him; Squire Bretton, a tavern-keeper and member of assembly; Fort Scuyler; White's Town; Colonel White and the dram-bottle; Judge White.



I HAVE now given such a representation of those states which I carefully examined, together with cursory remarks, bringing into one view

such information as I should have been glad to receive prior to my own embarkation for America, in the hope it may preserve others from involving themselves and families in difficulties which they may not be so easily extricated from; or, if they are determined to emigrate, it may be useful in pointing out where and how they are most likely to be accommodated, and also put them on their guard against the many impositions practised before they set out as well as after their arrival. In addition thereto, I will, in this place, as forming a part of my own travels, give a more detailed account of a journey I undertook to view some of the rich back lands, so much talked of, as the land of Canaan, &c.

The difference in distance and climate alone excepted, all these new lands are so similar to each other, that a plain description of one, with the manner of settling so generally adopted by all, may afford a sufficient insight to the whole.

I took my departure from New York. For the first 160 miles, to Albany, there is a choice to go either by land or water. I took a place in the mail-coach, or coachee, (as these vehicles are termed,) which set off at three in the afternoon, passing between the ruins of Washington and Lee Forts, on York-island, over King's Bridge.

We arrived at a Dutch tavern, kept by Mr Odell, at half-past eight. As neither good nor

bad words will induce a Dutchman to move brisker than usual, our company, pretty numerous (eleven) for one coachee, were obliged to wait patiently until our landlord gave us what he thought suited best for supper. This consisted of the most execrable tea I ever tasted, (no coffee,) some fried veal, and buttered toast; for which, with our lodgings, two or three in a bed, we paid four shillings and six pence each.

In the course of our afternoon's travel, a warm argument had been maintained between a young episcopal clergyman and a well-informed physician, both of New York, concerning Tom Pain's religious opinions. Appeals were occasionally made to me; and, foreseeing some entertainment from an innocent disguise, I excused myself as a foreigner, who was travelling for information, better pleased to hear the opinions of other men than deliver my own, especially on subjects of religion; that, in the country I came from, men of my *cast* were content to think for themselves, acting up to what they thought just and right, without aiming to make converts of others. This was sufficient to excite the natural curiosity of Americans, and questions followed to know my country and religion. I said that I came from India, and called myself a Gentoo, giving, at their request, several specimens of the language, of which they knew not one word,

with a short song or two, such as

“*Toomana carkee ha coo sedjeree*,” &c.

which entertained and convinced them at the same time. Appeals were made more frequently than before, considering me the more impartial; thus affording me an opportunity of delivering sentiments and opinions without giving offence.

I minuted down many curious heads of argument on both sides, unnecessary to trouble the reader with, except one concerning the future state of the soul as to rewards and punishments. The clergyman strenuously contended that good Christians would be happy to all eternity, and that the wicked would be condemned to everlasting punishment. The physician admitted the soul's existence, and that of a beneficent just Being who would reward or punish hereafter; but denied the existence of such a place as hell for everlasting torments, or such a personage as the devil.

I long resisted giving any opinion on the subject, until pressed very hard by the young parson, who challenged it on this ground, that, although I was no Christian and therefore declined speaking to any of their doctrinal points of argument, yet, as a Gentoo, and as he hoped and believed a good serious thinking man, I must have considered the necessity and justice of making a grand distinction, in a future state, (my belief in which I had before admitted,) be-

tween the good and the bad of this world. I assured him, that, if he would satisfy my ignorance by answering one question, I would then give him the best opinion in my power, viz. if I understood him rightly, he had said that mankind would be divided into two parts only, the good and the bad; that the first would be received into heaven, or happiness, and the latter consigned to hell, or misery; and that both were considered to be eternal. He admitted I conceived him right, and should be glad to know if I did not think it both equitable and just that it should be so. “Be pleased, sir, to answer me the following question, and I will then tell you. As there must inevitably be an indescribable number of degrees of both good and bad men, the worst of the good and the best of the bad must necessarily approach so near to each other, that the smallest additional good act on one side or bad act on the other must turn the scale for eternal happiness or misery. Will you be kind enough, therefore, to inform me how *your* doctrinal tenets settle this point, as to where this almost inconceivable line of distinction is to be made, by which a grain, more or less, of good or bad determines one’s fate for everlasting happiness or misery.”

I suppose he was too young in the service, therefore could not solve the question. But I did not take advantage of this, by evading an

an answer; and told him my simple opinion was, that, as the Almighty Being, to whom all nations and religions bowed in adoration under some name or another, had thought proper to veil this (as well as other matters the human mind was naturally curious about) from my very imperfect knowledge, I rested satisfied that all would be ordered for the best, though in what manner I could not pretend to say, much less dispute the opinion of another on the subject. All I pretended to be confident in was, that a man, endeavouring to act well through life and to make himself useful, had nothing to fear but every thing to hope. After a short pause, I farther observed, that possibly there were as many degrees of happiness and misery in the starry worlds around, as of good and bad men; and where was the improbability that the souls of men might be sent to inhabit such worlds, according to their deserts in this? There was no circumstance of this nature in *their* bible, he said, whatever there might be in the Gentoo writ, therefore he did not believe it probable.

All this was done and said in such perfect good humour on all sides, that I may truly say we met good-naturedly as strangers, we travelled pleasantly, and parted with the most friendly good wishes towards each other. The young clergyman, in particular, took my right hand between his, pressed it to his breast, and, with a

tear glistening in his eye, expressed a wish we might meet again in this world and for ever in the next. Most sincerely and fervently, I said Amen.

Learning that the beds at Mr Odell's would be fully occupied, and not choosing to have a male bedfellow, (so common at inns in America,) I contrived to profit farther by my Gentoo-ship. Taking a pair of pistols out of my portmanteau, I laid them on a pillow of one of the beds in the room we supped in, desiring the people of the house not to meddle with them for fear of an accident, as they went off suddenly if not carefully handled. Curiosity was again excited, to know why I travelled with fire-arms, in a part of the country where they were not necessary. I observed, that long usage had so accustomed me in travelling about the world, I could not sleep so well without them; and, being soon alarmed and startled in my sleep, by placing them under my pillow, I felt relief in having such a guard against sudden alarms. I had no occasion to say any thing about sleeping *alone*, for they crowded three or four in a bed rather than sleep with a Gentoo. My fame travelled as fast as our carriage, creating a little trouble at every inn to answer some curious questions, but affording me ample diversion.

We set off from Odell's at five the next morning, passed under the large tulip-tree where

Major André was taken, breakfasting at Croten, thirteen miles from Odell's: from this, to Peekskill-landing, is ten miles. The whole road from King's Bridge is over rough rocky hills, the soil in general a cold clay and very stony: for breakfasts, at Peekskill, three shillings each.

Thence to Fishkill, (twenty miles over the high lands,) a strange romantic road, where we seldom met with any cleared land. Chiefly woods, a few poor wretched log-houses, deep gullies, and dangerous passes over water-falls, with frequent sight of the North-river, making it curiously beautiful if not pleasant travelling.

On quitting the mountains at Fishkill, I was agreeably surprised with a prospect of good farming-land on a fine plain we descended to, and the land better farmed and attended to. We dined at five shillings each.

From this to Poughkeepsie is fifteen miles of good road, passing over the beautiful Fishkill water-falls. The soil continued tolerable in appearance and decently farmed, for America, until within four miles of Poughkeepsie. This is the county-town of Dutchess-county: the houses are neat, the court-house, goal, and tavern, all in one. For supper and lodgings, five shillings each; by suppers are to be understood tea, coffee, &c. but no liquors, unless called and paid for separately. Land, in this neighbourhood, sold from five to ten pounds an acre.

We set off early next morning. The land was pretty level for some miles, then hilly and stony until we came to Reinbeck, a small village distant twenty miles; here the soil was good and free from stone, the price from six to twelve pounds an acre. Opposite Reinbeck, across the North-river, are the Catskill-mountains, part of the range of the Allegany. Breakfast here was two shillings and sixpence each.

From this to Red-hook is ten miles; to Livingston's manor, (a strong hungry soil) six miles; and to Hudson fifteen, where we arrived at half-past two. Dinner five shillings, wine not included. The market-price of veal, lamb, and beef, eight pence a pound; labour, ten shillings by the day; fifteen dollars a month for farming-men, besides board and lodging. The lands about Hudson are chiefly grass; the soil, as I was informed, not suited for ploughing.

About three miles from Hudson, the land is very poor, continuing so until we drew near Kinderhook, a neat village, fifteen miles from Hudson. At Kinderhook, the land is passable; farther on, the soil again changes to very bad, and is one continued pine-barren for twenty miles, until we drew near the ferry, crossing the North-river to Albany at nine o'clock, having travelled eighty-six miles from five in the morning.

The wheats, we had passed, in general looked healthy and well, yielding, on an average, .I

should think, twenty bushels an acre, which they reckon a good crop. The clovers were good, where there appeared any attention to husbandry, particularly some where they had manured with plaster of Paris, which might be seen, to an inch, from the clover in the same field that was not so manured: I never saw so strong an instance of its effect, inducing me to alight and examine it closely. There were some stone fences, but chiefly railing. In some places, I noticed a curious mode of ploughing, by beginning on one side the piece, and ploughing round it, whatever the shape of the field might be, and continuing so until finished in the centre.

Travelling through some of the extensive forests in America, I have observed large trees completely decomposed by the length of time they have been rotting, yet perfectly retaining their figure as they lay on the ground; so much decomposed, as to induce an opinion that the quantity of rotten particles, if perfectly dried, would not exceed that of ashes, if the same tree had been carefully burnt. I was played a trick with one that was in this state of decay, yet retained the appearance of a sound tree lying along, and more than two feet in diameter. We had just killed a large black snake; and, while chatting about it, I sprang up a little to make a seat of the tree, when it gave way and I sunk to the bottom, partly hid from my companion by the

rotten particles; but, on his calling out another large snake, I sprang up nearly as quick as I fell.

The log-houses with log-fences, in the uncultivated forests, have a singular and grotesque appearance to strangers. These are chiefly built by Squatters, a species of wild settlers, who never inquire of the proprietors of the land, but build their log-house, and take possession of what ground they think proper to clear for the growing a little Indian corn. These gentry do considerable damage to the forests, by burning the underwood, early in the spring, for the sake of a little grass that shoots up soon after.

The city of Albany contains upwards of six thousand inhabitants, collected from various parts: adventurers are led hither by the advantages of trade which this place affords. It is the store-house for the trade to and from Canada and the lakes, therefore likely to flourish and the inhabitants to grow rich, although the country about it is very indifferent. It is said to be unsociable: I was not there long enough to form an opinion, but it is naturally to be expected from an assemblage of people so collected, most of them eager in their own pursuits of gain, and considering it only as a temporary residence; while the Dutch, who are the original and most permanent settlers, may be supposed to give the *ton* to the place.

I spent one day in my going and one on my return to view the town, which appeared, as was reported, to have increased more than one-third in the number of houses within five years : a fire had burnt thirty houses down the summer before, and tended much to improve the appearance of the town by the new modern-built brick buildings, that formed a complete contrast to the homely dutch-built houses, with their gable ends to the street.

Stages are continually passing and re-passing from Albany to Skenectady, the distance sixteen miles, through a continued pine-barren, so bad, from a total want of vegetable life in the soil, pines excepted, that scarcely a log-house is to be seen : the stage-fare is half a dollar.

Skenectady is a considerable inland town, compact, regular, and the houses (between two and three hundred) chiefly built with brick : they have a public school ; Dutch, episcopal, and presbyterian, churches ; and I was informed that 20,000*l.* was then subscribed towards building a college. Skenectady stands on the margin of the very poorest soil to the south-east, and very rich land to the north-west ; a dismal barren prospect one way and a rich beautiful view the other, separated by the Mohawk-river. Two travellers, meeting at Skenactady, one from the east the other from the west, each returning the same road they came, without going farther, might

report as differently of the country as of the opposite points of the compass. Through this town every thing must pass and repass to and from the North-River, consequently it will thrive in proportion to the population of the country west of it.

Setting off at half-past five in the morning, we ferried across the Mohawk, and I was gratified with seeing land rich enough to answer my expectations, from the accounts which I had heard and read. The estate, on which we landed, was opposite the town: it contained originally 1000 acres, but had been lately divided; one moiety of which, with a handsome house, barns, offices, and a pleasant garden, well fenced in, was at that time offered for sale for 15,000*l*.

The flats, or interval lands, on the banks of the Mohawk, appeared very fertile, selling from twenty to fifty pounds an acre, for a considerable way up the river. The higher lands, where the floods do not reach, are but moderate, compared with the flats, yet some of them grow good wheat; but the hills, close above them, are very stony, indifferent, and covered with wood.

We stopped to breakfast at Vidder's tavern, for which we paid two shillings and sixpence; the distance from Skenectady is eight miles.

Eight miles farther, we passed a large handsome old stone house, (out of repair,) called Guy-Park, built by Guy Johnson, who married Sir

William Johnson's daughter. It was the middle of June, yet the roads were very bad. A Mr Miles, who kept a tavern at this house, was a judge of the county and member of the assembly at the time. He seemed to be a sensible well-informed man, and told me, that not one of Sir William Johnson's family was left in the country to reap one shilling benefit from the immense estate he left, which he believed was then worth 500,000 dollars. Mr Miles kept no waiter, but served his customers with sling-drams, grog, or cider, himself.

Five miles farther, we came to a Dutch tavern, opposite to Fort-Hunter, (the last settlement of the Mohawk Indians,) where we dined on bacon, boiled eggs, and sturgeon, our host observing he had no *fish*. This had a poor appearance for the land of plenty. Our dinner was four shillings each.

From this to Conolly's tavern, on the flats, was ten miles; the last five of which was the only tolerable road from Skeneectady. The winter and spring wheats looked remarkably well, clovers the same; pease were pretty much cultivated, but shamefully foul with weeds. The soil on these flats is a rich black mould without a stone, three feet deep, as appeared by some ditches.

Re-crossing the Mohawk-River, we arrived at Roaf's tavern, in the township of Ranogahara, at six in the evening. In this day's journey, of

forty miles, we were frequently obliged to alight and walk for a mile or two, or the coachee could never have dragged us through the swamps. Our supper and lodgings here was four shillings each. Roaf told me that his farm contained 600 acres, of which sixty only were flats. He wished to sell it: what he shewed me of the uplands was rocky and hilly, but the soil was good; the house indifferent and the garden as bad, very little fence beside what was on the flat lands, with scarcely any other improvement; yet he wanted 6000*l.* for the whole. Beds being scarce, my Gentooship saved me from being incommoded. Their coachee having been overturned and broken to pieces a few days before, we were obliged to travel in an open waggon.

We set off at five in a very foggy morning; and, after travelling about twelve miles, breakfasted at the Indian-castle, a tavern kept by a Mr Hudson, who had been a drummer in Burgoyne's army at the time of its surrender. He married a widow and is now a man of considerable property, keeping a large store (shop) as well as the tavern. One of the British regimental field-pieces was kept in front of his house, with which he celebrated every American rejoicing day. In the same neighbourhood, the widow of General Herkeman (an officer said to be much esteemed by the Americans, in whose cause he

fell) lived as a cook-servant to another store-keeper, exhibiting a contrast to Mr Hudson.

I noticed several pieces of wheat, this part of the journey, as strong and good as could well grow. Our road was partly along the banks of the Mohawk, and some part across the country until we came to the Fall-Hills, called so from the falls in the Mohawk-River. Through this range of hills, the falls are about forty feet, over different ledges of rocks.

Soon after passing these hills, we travelled through a wood of fine elm-trees, with a few maples among them, the land hilly and stony, but the soil good, if well cleared.

At German-Flats Town, twelve miles from Hudson's, is a church built with stone by Sir William Johnson for the use of the Indians, who never come near it, unless to stare at and inquire what it is; and, when told it is God's House, where they ought to meet and worship him, they ask if God is afraid of them by building a strong stone fort to live in. Near to the church, there is a complete log-fort in an octagon form; (most of them are square;) the upper story overhangs the ground-floor between two and three feet, with musket-holes to fire down and through on the Indians, if, in their attacks, they should attempt to set them on fire. To these log-forts the neighbouring first settlers resorted for mutual defence,

on the least alarm: the remains of several log-houses that had been burnt by the savages, the families of which were massacred, were still to be seen.

Lands here are valued at from fifteen to twenty pounds an acre, with a proportion of one acre of the flats to five or more of upland; but, at the time I was there, none was to be sold at any price. Their farms were in narrow slips from the river, of about 400 feet wide, extending up the country two or three miles, containing from 50 to 120 acres: they appeared to me the best apportioned farms and the best attended to of any in America. Uplands not cleared, at a distance from the river, are in general very stony, and to be bought from three to five dollars an acre. I distinguish stony from rocky lands, the latter being immoveable masses, either above or level with the earth; the former are loose stones covering the land, more or less, as thick as a field of good strong turnips.

I stopped here three days to examine the neighbouring country, induced a little thereto by good fare as well as good lands. We were lucky enough to dine on *fresh** the first day: we had roast pig and boiled veal, with plenty of vegetable sauce, for which we were charged no more than four

* A provincial term, distinguishing the few days they have fresh meat from the many they feed on salt provisions.

shillings: dining with Mr Aldridge and his family, and agreeing to have a little fresh every day, I did very well the time I stopped.

Between Aldridge's and Judge Sterling's, a distance of ten miles, the road is through lands but little cleared and chiefly inhabited by Squatters. These are the same kind of lawless settlers I described before; but, being on a richer soil, they live easier, and do not readily give up possession to the landed proprietor when he comes to settle or sell. They look with an evil eye on all strangers travelling post in any decent apparel, supposing them to be land-jobbers who are about disturbing them, naturally conceiving that few besides would choose to travel such a country.

The trees, in general, through America, fell short of my expectations as to bulk, though not as to height. Here I saw several oak, elm, and pine, trees between two and three feet diameter, and from fifty to sixty feet high, clear of branches, with an almost imperceptible decrease of size from the root to the branches. Some of the hemlock-trees are upwards of a hundred feet in height and four and five feet diameter.

We stopped at Judge Sterling's to refresh our horses. Hearing that he was first judge of the county, I doubted whether it was a tavern, until my fellow-traveller called for cider, which the judge readily drew for him. His appearance, in point of dress, was so singularly grotesque, in

contrast to the dignity of his office, that I could not refrain minuting it down while he was waiting on his customers during the short stay we made. His hair was matted like a mop, and looked as if no comb had entered it for months past; he had on a ragged brown greasy jacket, the sleeves of which appeared to have been torn off; dirty canvas trowsers, no stockings, and very thick shoes tied with leather thongs. In a breast button-hole of his jacket was a short tobacco-pipe, completely japanned with smoke: this last article was a constant appendage to every Dutch settler I met, as well as to Judge Sterling.

A story was circulated of him, and told me afterwards by so many of the settlers in that part of the country, that I entertain no doubt of the truth. A poor fellow, from New England,* had passed that way several times in search of a settlement; and, stopping to dine and refresh himself at the judge's house on a Sunday, desired to know what he had to pay. His host made out the account for meat and drink as a tavern-keeper, adding, as a magistrate, the small fine of six shillings for travelling on a Sunday without a pass. In vain poor Yanky pleaded poverty, and urged the constant frequenting of his house.

* Called a *Yanky*, from Yankoo, a tribe of Indians formerly inhabiting New England.

as he journeyed to and fro. The judge could not acquit his conscience without fining him. Entreaties being in vain, Yanky desired his honour to grant him a pass, or possibly the next magistrate might fine him again. To this there was no objection; but, not writing very distinct or readily himself, he told Yanky to write and he would sign it. Yanky obeyed, and wrote an order for twenty pounds on Sterling's merchant, a store-keeper living a few miles on the road he had to travel, knowing him to be Sterling's banker, from messages he had formerly carried from the judge to the merchant. Sterling asked if he had taken care to make the pass strong enough; Yanky guessed it would do, and the judge signed it. But, a few days after, his honour calling on the merchant, found to his cost he had signed a *pass* for twenty pounds in lieu of a *pass* for his Sunday friend. In the first heat of passion, he exclaimed, "it is that d—d Yanky-pass," which he explained to his banker, and this created a laugh at his worship's expense that will last his life.

Four miles farther, we came to Squire Bretton's; this gentleman kept a tavern likewise, living in a log-house. His acquaintance were complimenting him on being elected a member of the state assembly. In fact, the office of tavern-keepers and lawyers seemed to be the surest road to public honours and riches among

new settlers. For several miles, along this part of the country, new settlers are very numerous, though among them must be reckoned many of the squatting-gentry: indeed, they are the oldest inhabitants, and from this circumstance assume a priority of right, not only threatening with a ferocious savage aspect those who question that right, but they dispute the legality of possession by tedious suits at law and the strength of arm at the same time.

From Squire Bretton's to Fort Scuyler, the road was almost impassable and very dangerous even for a waggon, in which we had been most grievously jumbled all day. We obtained horses here: my companion and I then proceeded on four miles farther to Colonel White's, at White's Town, where we alighted safe from broken bones, but most miserably bruised from head to foot.

I had been so accustomed in America to look for captains, majors, colonels, members of parliament, and judges, at most of the taverns on the road, that it had long ceased to be a matter of surprise. I had learned to consider it as a merit in those, who had fought and been distinguished by military rank, not hesitating to follow any occupation, by which they could maintain their families, when their military services were no longer necessary. But I confess my expectations respecting Colonel White, whose

father was the original founder, proprietor, and settler, of this township, were different. For, when a gentleman, with whom I had travelled a considerable part of this tour, and who, having bought several thousand acres of land in this neighbourhood, wished and promised to introduce me to the colonel, as we rode up to the house, I considered it as one gentleman of fortune visiting another, and, the night being shut in, was not sorry to reach so good a haven. But I soon found my mistake; for, walking into the house, my friendly pilot was obliged to wait a minute or two, until the colonel had put away the dram-bottle and glass, with which he was serving some customers, before he could introduce me to his acquaintance. The number of inns along the road, or, as they term them, taverns, are exceedingly numerous; I verily believe the proportion to private houses is as one to four, if not three. On the following day, I was introduced to Judge White, the father of the township: his appearance was rather better than Sterling's, and not much. There being abundance of business in all new-settled parts for lawyers, White's Town was inhabited by three or four of them, who, from the litigious disposition of the people, with the disputed boundaries and titles of estates, do extremely well. The only decent plain table I saw, in or about White's Town, was at Coun-

sellor Breeze's, a polite sensible gentleman from the Jerseys: he, likewise, was a member of the state assembly.

CHAPTER XIX.

Rich back lands; their high price when cleared; labour scarce and dear; English women subject to insanity in the back settlements; supposed cause; the church and clergyman; son of an English clergyman studying law at White's Town; strange anecdote related by him; Colonel White's account of the crops; price of provisions; Oneida-Indians.



AMONG a variety of estates I went to see, was one belonging to the gentleman I travelled with, who had speculated in lands several years before. It is called the Oriska estate, and noted for the rich quality of the soil: only three or four years preceding his purchase it was an Indian station. The flat lands of this estate, by the river-side, are of the first quality, and nearly 300 out of 500 acres were cleared, chiefly by the

Indians, from their long residence there: the residue was a thick forest of oak, elm, maple, pine, and hemlock, trees, many of an astonishing height, clear from branches, and very strait for seventy or eighty feet.

The proprietor expected this Oriska estate, of 500 acres, would sell for more than 6000*l.* when put up to public sale, which it was his intention to do, together with his other estates of about 9000 acres in that neighbourhood. A farm of 100 acres, with a log-house and small barn, thirty acres only of which were cleared, the stumps of the trees remaining, had been lately sold for 1000*l.* The few labouring men there are hired at eighteen and twenty dollars a month, board, &c. Lands here sell high and labour is very dear. Agues and fevers are very prevalent.

While I staid at White's Town, an English lady, whose husband had made a considerable purchase of lands in the neighbourhood, became quite deranged in her intellects: they came from the Devizes. It was the second instance I had met with in America among English female emigrants. I do not aver that it positively is so, but I am firmly persuaded it arises from a depression of spirits, occasioned by so great a change from civilized to an almost savage state of society. Doctor Priestly, to whom I mentioned these circumstances at Philadelphia, acknowledged he had known similar instances and attributed them to

the same cause. A man will struggle through much easier, yet not without many heart-aches, though his pride may not permit him to confess it. But it falls with tenfold weight on the mistress of a family, who, having experienced the benefit of servants in the old country, is under an unavoidable necessity of being the greatest drudge, and a slave to the very indifferent help she can with difficulty procure, in America.

The church served various purposes; a court-house, a school, and the upper part as a dwelling for the clergyman and school-master. Stories were told, not much to the credit of the senior and principal inhabitants, of having persuaded a clergyman to come from some considerable distance, and then, knowing his return would be too expensive for him, they refused to perform their full agreement.

I was informed, by a Mr More, son to a clergyman in Devonshire, who (strange as it may appear) was *studying law* there, that, during the preceding winter, while a Baptist-minister was baptizing and making good Christians in one village, an assemblage of Tom Paine's men, at another village, were burning Christ in effigy. I had no reason to doubt Mr More's veracity, yet, being so strange a circumstance, I made inquiry of several to know, if there was any truth in the latter part of the report; and I was told, it was a subject they wished not to converse upon,

but were afraid there was too much truth in it, and they were rather desirous to smother the report.

Inquiring about their crops, Colonel White assured me, that, notwithstanding the extravagant reports made by many respecting the produce of such rich lands along the banks of the Mohawk and other rivers west of the Allegany Mountains, the fair average-produce of wheat was from twenty to twenty-five bushels; oats, about thirty-five; and Indian corn, forty bushels; to the acre. He believed fifty bushels of wheat and sixty bushels of corn had grown on particular lands, some very favourable seasons, but not often. To this it should be farther observed, that none of their fields, or plots of ground, are actually measured, but the number of acres are guessed at. However, I have no hesitation in declaring that the richness of the soil, in general, through the flats or interval lands, is equal to the growth of any possible crop under suitable management; and, considering how they are choked with strong twitch or couch grass, with various other noxious weeds and plants, it is rather a matter of surprise that they grow so much.

The price of beef and mutton, at White's Town, was eight pence, and veal six pence, the pound; but there is very little of either killed during summer. They slaughter and salt in the autumn, when the cattle are in the best con-

dition, and live chiefly on such salted provision most of the year. Butter was one shilling and four pence, and cheese one shilling, a pound. Fish very scarce.

Settling with Colonel White for four suppers, three breakfasts, and two dinners, (as indifferent meals as could be made,) one bottle of wine, three tumblers of grog, and four nights lodging in a garret, I paid him three pounds. This I mention as information, not with an idea of complaining, for, I would with pleasure have paid double and treble the amount for the civilities I received.

At twenty miles from White's Town is the remainder of the Six Nations, their whole number is reduced to about sixteen hundred, and they are now called the Oneida Indians. Their chief, Skonandoa, talked English sufficient to be understood, as did several others of these Indians, but they are not fond of it. They live chiefly by hunting and fishing on the lakes; besides which, they receive 4000 dollars annually, from the American government, in lieu of such lands as were lately ceded by them. They cultivate a little ground to grow corn, and Skonandoa grows a little wheat, the women doing all the labour.

CHAPTER XX.

Prepare for a journey through the wilderness; an Indian bed; the settling of back lands similar throughout America; the natural Indian preferable to the white American back-wood Squatters; emigrations from the American States to British Canada; the cause and probable consequence; return to White's Town; absurdity of building and calculating by English ideas in the back countries; a wide difference between the old land of Canaan and the new.



So far as White's Town, there is some kind of public conveyance, such as it is; but, farther on to the westward, to visit the Lakes and the Chenessee-country, if a man is either not disposed to walk or incapable, the best way is to get a good horse from White's Town, with which, in two or three days, (for he will find nothing to tempt his stopping by the way,) he will reach Geneva, a scattered town containing about sixty houses, in the Chenessee-country.

My mind was already sufficiently satisfied on every point for which I had taken this tour into the back country, and I was debating whether it

was worth the trouble of proceeding farther, when an accidental circumstance determined me. A young farmer, from Massachusetts, was making his third trip to the westward, to conclude a purchase he had agreed for in the Chenessee. My day was past for accompanying him on foot, and he could not afford to hire a horse, though anxious to get thither and return as quick as he could. For the sake of so good a guide and companion, I smoothed all difficulties by engaging one for him and another for myself, agreeing to give or take a day, to him who should wish for it, after reaching the falls of Niagara, the full extent of my intended tour. Having equipped agreeably to my companion's directions, we set off, well pleased with the mutual accommodation; for his experience and attention I was to be pay-master.

A detail of each day's events would produce a tedious sameness. We were three days going to Geneva. From Geneva to the Chenessee-river, fifty miles. Here is a tavern that furnishes grog, tobacco, sling, bacon, and eggs; but no fresh. Thence to Niagara-falls is a rough dismal journey of seventy miles, through a perfect wilderness; finding our way by Indian paths, in which I proved a novice and my companion an adept.

Understanding from him, that, according to the haste we made, we should have to lie in the woods either one or two nights, we proceeded as

fast as prudence admitted, and I was perfectly satisfied with only one night's lodging, making a delicate soft bed with such boughs of trees, &c. as we could collect, and forming a kind of canopy over our heads with rather larger boughs than our bed required. My companion thought it necessary likewise to keep up two fires during the night, as a guard against wolves and panthers; and, by the alertness he shewed in frequently jumping up to attend the fires, he convinced me that he really conceived there was some danger. Yet we passed the nights, one going the other returning, unmolested; and, except the view of these grand falls, so often much better described than is in my power, there was nothing to reward me for the fatigue of the journey.

In travelling through all the back lands in America, (allowing for the difference of climate according to the latitude,) there is so little variety in the appearance, either of the immense wild uncultivated lands, or the small plats clearing or cleared by new settlers, that a journey over and examination of 100 or 150 miles, through any of the rich tracts of the back country, afford as much information to an agriculturist, as to quality of soils, the methods taken to clear lands by first settlers, their way of living, as well as exhibiting the progress from a savage state to the more cultivated, as travelling over the whole: and I acknowledge, that, being neither so young

nor active as formerly, I was glad to get back again.

From all that I was able to learn, see, and judge, concerning any or all of the Indian tribes, both heretofore as well as from this journey, I would rather trust myself and property among them than the foremost white American back wood-men settlers; who are far more savage of the two. Nor have I met with any gentleman, that has travelled through any of the wildernesses where these pioneer-settlers have *squatted*, who does not entertain the same opinion. A great proportion of them are the wild Irish, who emigrate by ship-loads to America; and, if I mistake not, will in time prove a more formidable enemy to the states on the sea-coast than the Indians. In New York, I have seen five or six hundred of them landing at a time, nine out of ten of whom refused employ at any wages, saying they were going westward, where they liad friends who had advised them.

This western country is providentially supplied with salt, made from salt-springs, rising near the Onondaga-lake, whose waters are rendered brackish by these springs. At Fort Stanwix, on the Mohawk-river, 110 miles from the Hudson, they were cutting a canal for opening the navigation at the falls, but they found much difficulty in hiring hands. The Mohawk-river rises to the northward of Fort Stanwix.

While in these western parts, I saw three parties, the largest of which contained upwards of seventy persons, men, women, and children, all travelling to Upper Canada to get settlements in the British territories, from various parts of the United States; and I was informed that scarcely a week past, at that season of the year, without seeing such parties. Most of them had horses loaded with furniture and implements of husbandry, together with milch-cattle. They had much the appearance of what we may conceive of the patriarchal families of old, removing from one country to another; strengthened still more by hearing them converse and call to each other by name, nine-tenths of which are from the Old Testament, such as Reuben, Simeon, Judah, Job, Dinah, Leah, Laban, Ezekiel, Zechariah, and all the hard names to be found, besides the more common of Jacob, Jonathan, Judith, and others.

These removals, from the United States to British settlements, are stubborn proofs, beyond any opinion of authors, that they find it most to their interest; and, on making inquiries, I learned that one essential cause was, that, instead of purchasing as they must in the American states, they were tempted by the *grants* of land from the British government, to encourage settlement in that country.

My travelling-companion said he should have done the same, only that part of his family were already settled in the Chenessee. As to himself, he said, he cared but little which government he lived under; or, if he had, that would make no great difference, he *guessed*, a few years hence. And I acknowledge that Yanky's *guess* seems no way improbable, as, independant of internal causes, should war arise between England and the United States, these Yanky settlers in Canada will be ready to receive their brother-Americans with open arms, instead of attempting to defend the country against them; and, admitting the two countries remain in peace, the allegiance of the Canadians in general is not to be looked for longer than they find it their interest, that is, so long as England, at a considerable expense, supports and protects them. But, the instant she claims a return they may dislike, the Canadians, prompted and encouraged by these new associates fraught with republican principles, will be for erecting themselves into an independant government, or solicit to join the American states. In my humble opinion, therefore, England would do well to part with Canada, while it can be done to advantage, which may never happen better than in the next negociation of a peace with France, who, ever since she lost Canada, has looked eagerly for its recovery.

This might be a strong inducement with France to accede to sacrifices of her own or her allies, that might be much more beneficial to Great Britain; persuaded as I am that Canada, after reaping every advantage from England, while growing to maturity, will, on the first plausible pretext, throw off her allegiance. In the event of which, the jealousies and bickerings between this country and America will be increased. On the other hand, should France be in possession of Canada, an object she has ever had much at heart, the effect as to England would be just the reverse.

Americans are partial to the French while at a distance, but do not like them as neighbours; and, as soon as France should be in possession of Canada, the emigrations from one to the other would be excessive, and the immediate consequence between them and the United States would be jealousy, uneasiness, and disturbance. The United States would find a dangerous, powerful, increasing, neighbour at their backs, and consider it then as their best interest to seek an alliance with England, to the mutual advantage of both countries. Eventually, Canada must and will become independant of whatever country she may for a time belong to; and, until that time comes, will not only be more cost than profit, but a source of brooding hatred and ill-

will between its protecting country and the United States.

From this digression, as well as my short tour to the lakes and boundaries between British Canada and the United States, I return to White's Town, where my honest guide and companion parted from me to proceed on his own affairs, while I made another short halt, preparatory to descending the Mohawk-river by water. At White's Town, the river is about 130 feet over. In general, the water that is procured from wells here is unwholesome, but the inhabitants at White's Town are happily supplied from a spring at the west end of their main street, which is conveyed to every house in the street by pipes; an accommodation not to be expected in so remote a settlement, and which I do not recollect to have seen in any other town in America.

Taking a ride with an English gentleman to see the country, he shewed me a bridge he was then building, 180 feet long, across the Mohawk, to connect his own estates. He had likewise partly finished a large house, originally intended for the residence of his family; but, becoming perfectly tired and cured, he ordered all his estates to be advertised for sale. The house and offices seemed well calculated for supporting the old English stile of hospitality, by keeping an open table for tenantry, as well as the few visiting strangers that might chance to pass

within a few miles; for, as to visiting neighbours, he could not expect any, on a reciprocal footing, if he lived in a stile suited to the building, or what his former mode of living was. But, in this as well as other matters of speculation, which I noticed of gentlemen of property coming from England to America, I observed that nearly all of them made great mistakes by calculating on old ideas.

Before I quit this western country, I will make one more observation. These rich-soiled back lands are highly extolled and frequently compared to the land of Canaan, flowing with milk and honey. What they may be a century or two hence, I can not pretend to say; but, from all I could see, hear, or taste, there was a lamentable difference (as great as the distance) between the old and the new Canaan. The new Canaan, therefore, had no temptation for me, having a reasonable desire to taste some of the good things in my own time. On the contrary, the prospect to any man, meaning to thrive by increase of property, is no other than to work hard and fáre much harder.

CHAPTER XXI.

Hire a batteau to return by the Mohawk-river; breakfast at a Squatter's Tavern; Cosby-manor; method of clearing the rich back lands for cultivation; Mr Myddleton's advertisements, to take in English farmers, explained; Mohawk-hill falls; opinion concerning them, and that the rich level of lands above them was formerly a lake; a canal; pass some rocky rapids; the tunder, or thunder, toad; log-forts; sleep at Cromwell's, his information; an estate for sale; sad character of my five boatmen; a rivulet sinking under ground and lost, until bursting through the rocks into the Mohawk; the first settlement made by Sir William Johnson; etchings of seven Indians on a rock; return to Skenectady; the Cohoez; Albany; Mail-coachee to Poughkeepsie; filthy taverns; sling-drinking, or sweetened drams; passage from Poughkeepsie to New York.



For the purpose of examining the Mohawk-river, with its falls and rapids, I hired a batteau, with five men, to go down the river. The appearance of these men was much against them.

and at first they talked together wholly in a barbarous kind of Dutch, seeming to insinuate they did not understand English; for, as they had been engaged for me by Colonel White, I knew nothing of them until I got into the batteau early in the morning.

We had sailed a few miles, when, to undeceive them, I made some observation in better Dutch than they seemed capable of: they stared at each other, and by my repeating what I had said, I was answered in English, and they never attempted to talk Dutch again. In a few hours they became communicative and attentive, desirous of accommodating wherever I chose to land, &c.

Sixteen miles from White's Town, I breakfasted at a Squatter's tavern, on Cosby's Manor, and made a better meal, for eighteen pence, than any since I left Skenectady. This estate was lost to the Cosby-family from neglect, or refusal to pay up the quit-rents, amounting to about 700*l*. The estate, I was assured, would then sell for near 200,000*l*.

A very considerable proportion of the level flats, in this neighbourhood, were then in an uncultivated state of nature, thickly covered with lofty trees; the soil humid and light, until the surface is cleared by felling and burning most, if not all, of the timber growing on them. The common process, to clear a piece of land, is to begin

at such end or side of the land as is most suitable. Cutting the trees with an axe, a little more than two feet high from the ground, they dexterously contrive to fell them all the same way, so that the tops of the last trees fall over the bodies of the preceding. When as many are felled as they intend for the season, advantage is taken of the first dry time to set them on fire, by which most of the underwood and small branches of the trees are consumed, the bodies and remaining branches are then cut into convenient lengths, rolled together in heaps, and again set fire to. The pieces that remain unburnt are again piled up, until repeated applications of fire nearly consume the whole. The bulk of the ashes are carried off to make pot-ash with, and the ground, being harrowed between the stumps of the trees, is most commonly sown with wheat. The value of these lands, before they are cleared, and in proportion to the quantity of uplands with them, are from ten to thirty dollars an acre; and, when cleared, are worth from fifteen to thirty dollars more an acre.

I am now speaking of lands about Fort Scuyler, White's Town, and Fort Stanwix. Traveling one hundred miles farther west, lands of the same quality sell not for half the money, and so in proportion as you travel farther back, until they may be bought at one or two dollars an acre. The uplands, that are far back from any

of these navigable waters, sell for little or nothing, and indeed many of them (like the bargain of Mr Cooper and Doctor Priestly) are not worth buying at any price, nor even accepting with a view of present cultivation.

This subject, the value of the distant back lands, applying equally to those along the Ohio, the Muskingum, &c. as to the Mohawk and Chenessee, brings to my recollection an advertisement of a Mr Myddleton, to encourage English farmers to go out and settle on such lands. In this advertisement, he offered to let them farms for ten years at one shilling an acre a year; (the fee-simple of which is not worth more than from four to nine shillings an acre;) and, when they should have improved such farms at a great expense and very severe labour, with but bitter fare compared to what they had been accustomed to in England, he modestly assures them, they may renew the lease on the same terms, meaning that they may continue to improve the estate while paying him another fee-simple value; or, if they prefer it, they may purchase the farm so let to them at a fair valuation. That is, having already paid more than the value by a rent, they may pay for it again by purchase, beside paying for every improvement which they themselves have been slaving to make for the preceding ten years, by its being all fairly valued to them again. To add to this egregious attempt to dupe the English farmers, he tells them, that whoever

holds such lands under him shall be at liberty to cut down as much timber, of any quality or size, as they think proper. This was certainly a very happy thought of Mr Myddleton, truly conceiving that an English farmer, who is so strictly restrained from cutting down even a walking-stick that promises to be timber, would appreciate accordingly the liberty to cut down and convert to his own use any quantity of large timber. And the truth is, that, since my return to England, I have noticed how readily every farmer I have conversed with on the subject has been tempted with the idea, until undeceived, by my observing that the timber on those estates is the heaviest encumbrance; for that lands, which may be bought at one dollar and a half an acre with the timber standing, will become of more than twenty times that value when cleared. Packwood is really a very modest fellow compared to Mr Myddleton.

Leaving Cosby's Manor, I passed by Aldridge's Tavern and the German Flats, where there is a rippling fall, over a loose stoney bottom, for nearly half a mile, the hills on each side of the river approaching within half a mile of each other, as if the space between had been torn away. These were the first stones I had seen either in the banks or the bottom all the way down the Mohawk thus far, being about twenty-nine miles from White's Town.

In travelling by land, as well as returning by water, I soon distinguished the New-England settlers from the Germans, by their industry and attention in clearing, fencing, managing, and sowing, their lands, as well as in their buildings, the Germans being slovenly in the extreme.

As we approached the Mohawk-hill Falls, the hills on both sides drawing nearer, there was but little interval or level land, and the river was from 300 to 400 feet wide. I heard the falls at a considerable distance; and, on my arrival, stopped the batteau more than two hours to examine the ridge of rocks that ran across from one range of hills to the other. The broken rocks, fragments, and whole appearance, confirmed me in an opinion I had entertained during my passage down the river, viz. that the space, or valley, between the two ranges of hills on each side, from these falls up to the falls at Fort Stanwix, a distance of fifty miles, (possibly still farther,) had, in former times, been a lake: the bottoms, flats, or level lands, (names by which they are indiscriminately called,) being throughout evidently composed of sediment of the finest particles of earth, without a stone to be seen, (the rippling falls near Aldridge's excepted.) although I saw from four to eight and ten feet perpendicular depth of such soil on the sides of the river's whole course, until I drew near the falls.

There is a bridge of 100 feet thrown over these falls.

A little lower down, an active man, with a long pole, might leap from one fragment of the rock to another, until he crossed the falls. Nor have I any doubt but this was formerly a dam, that confined the waters so as to form a lake above, until, by some extraordinary eruption or gradual wearing away and removing detached pieces of the rock, (which in its original state lies in all manner of divided square forms, different sizes, yet fitting each other,) it worked its present passage, sufficient to lay the bottom of the lake dry, when the present river would readily make its current through the muddy sediment, to bring the waters down from the higher lands to the westward of Fort Stanwix. Various inlets, that empty from the adjacent hills, evince the same, by similar sedimentary levels, which must have collected when the waters in the lake were high enough to cover them, but are too high now by several feet for the highest floods in the river to reach. The banks by the side of the river are perpendicular, and the bottom of the river is muddy.

There is a canal lately cut, by the side of these falls, in which are six locks: they were opened in November, 1795, and the expense was 50,000*l*. The number of batteaus, &c. carrying from five to seven tons, were 130, being marked and

numbered as they passed through the canal. There are also several flat-bottomed skows, from ten to fourteen tons; yet the traffic up the river to the new settlements and the lakes is so great, that they complained there were not near boats enough.

As you go down the river from the last lock, the passage, continuing near a mile at the foot of the hills, with high perpendicular rocks on each side, is beautifully romantic. About four miles below the falls, we passed over some rocky rapids, requiring dexterous management. Near to these, I noticed a fish-like thing I had never seen or heard of before, appearing as the link between the fish and frog. It had neither fin nor legs, a roundish poddy body, with a flat belly and long tail, by the motion of which it moved pretty briskly: it was of a brown colour, speckled like a frog, had bright eyes, and was obliged frequently to rise to the surface for fresh air. The batteau-men knew it by no other name than the tunder, or thunder, toad, nor could they account for that, and were surprised at my being inquisitive about it. I tried in vain to catch one, while we stopped to refresh for half an hour.

The hills now spread gradually open again, the course of the river from the falls to Skenectady, nearly east and west, frequently and alternately washing the foot of either range of hills; between the projecting spurs of which are rich.

levels of land, similar to those above the falls, without a stone, though the bottom of the river is one continued bed of round stones, rolled along, as I conceive, by strong floods from the falls, and rounded by friction. As these two ranges of hills (for I can not stile them mountains) spread wider, levels of rich land appeared on both sides, the bed of the river consisting of clear round stones, causing frequent rapids, though the banks were entirely free. We passed Hudson's tavern on the right, seven miles from the falls.

Lower down, the hills drawing nearer, there is but little interval or level land. Proceeding for fifteen miles from the falls, we were brought to Fort Plain, where are two log-forts, built by Sir William Johnson. We next shot through Cady's rapids, twenty-three miles from the falls. Here the hills approach very near each other: one of them is called the Nose. It was then so dark, I could not examine sufficiently to ascertain whether there were any evidences of the water having been dammed up here likewise.

Two miles farther, we stopped for the night. I was accommodated, at a Mr Cromwell's, with supper and a bed. His father was a black man, his mother white; his wife, a pretty Connecticut woman. Finding him an intelligent American farmer, I sate up for several hours conversing with him. He declared, as his opinion, that the-

interval or bottom land was invaluable. He had known it cropped continually for about thirty years, without manure of any kind, and it still yielded as great crops as ever. He reckoned them better worth from thirty to forty pounds an acre, than their good uplands at eight. He informed me, that it required three gallons of maple-sap to make one pound of sugar, and they used no other.

Understanding that his neighbour, Mr Ten Eyck, wished to sell his estate, I called upon him at four o'clock the next morning. The situation was pleasant; a neat new house, well painted, a small barn, and 290 acres of land, seventy-five of which was interval and about forty acres of the upland cleared. On the premises was a grist-mill and a saw-mill: the toll of the grist was about 500 bushels, mostly wheat; the saw-mill cut near 400 logs, fourteen feet lengths, in a season, having one-half for sawing. There was also a small dwelling-house with a store-house, built by a tenant, who had a lease for seven years unexpired, when he was to quit and pay forty pounds. For the whole of this estate, he asked 4,400*l.* one-half to be paid down, the other half might remain on interest.

Every thing was perfectly neat about Cromwell's house. They admitted me without scruple, and I slept in a comfortable bed, in the same room with them; but they would not ad-

mit my batteau-men as inmates, giving me to understand that they knew them to be sad desperate scoundrels. However, I had travelled with them more than sixty miles from White's Town to Cromwell's; and, except at our first starting, observed nothing to make me suspicious of them but their looks, which were bad enough. For my supper and lodging, I was charged no more than eighteen pence.

I got into my batteau about six o'clock, and soon after passed Cocqnowawga rapids, the intervals narrow, the river about 600 feet wide. Four miles lower down, we passed Fort-Hunter rapids, where, in the April preceding, three men were overset and drowned.

Ten miles from Cromwell's, I stopped to breakfast at a log-house tavern, for which I paid two shillings. This was situated on a miserable-looking poor, sandy, hilly, rocky, soil. Three miles from this, I detained the batteau, much against the men's will, to examine a rivulet, or stream, bursting through the rocks and stones on the north side, by which it discharged itself into the Mohawk. This rivulet, I was informed, turns several mills higher up the country, then sinks into the earth, and is lost until it is again discovered forcing its passage through the rocky bank before mentioned. This induced me to think, that, if the weight and body of the water were great, instead of small, it might in time

wear and force away the rocks that obstruct its freer passage, in some degree similar to what I take to have been the case at the Hill-falls.

Lower down, on the south side, is the first settlement that was made by Sir William Johnson, given him, soon after his arrival, by Admiral Warren. There is still a good orchard, that was planted by him. This appears to have been a primary object with the earlier settlers in America, and very properly so; but, at present, there seems little or no attention paid to planting new or re-planting old orchards.

Nearly opposite to this settlement, there are still to be seen, on the side of some perpendicular rocks, the etchings of seven Indians with their canoes, as first sketched by themselves before they went out to war; from which expedition as they never returned, and no account being received of them, the tribe of Indians to which they belonged have continued to etch them afresh as they occasionally pass that way.

We shot through several other rapids; among them was Wylowkee-rapid, seventeen miles from Cromwell's and thirteen from Skenectady: it was both strong and deep. There was but little interval land from the spot where I breakfasted, until within six miles of Skenectady. The banks of the river in general, for this distance, are rocky or rolling stones in a kind of sandy loam. A part of the bank on the north side, nearly thirty

feet high, exhibited more of a real gravel than I had seen before in America. Here the hills again spread more apart, and the interval, or levels, grew wider as we approached near to Skenectady: the distance from Cromwell's was thirty miles.

As my batteau-men had conducted themselves with more civility and attention than their appearance promised, I satisfied them liberally, yet I believe they would have given one-half the money to have had their curiosity respecting me satisfied; for, the truth (that I travelled from motives of curiosity) they could not believe. At the time I was making my minutes at the Hill-falls, one of them came up; and, looking me full in the face, asked whether I was not a great engineer; and possibly it might be from entertaining such an idea that they treated me with so much civility.

On the following day, I went to see the Cohocz, some miles below Skenectady, being reckoned a great curiosity. They are about two miles from the entrance of the Mohawk into the North-river. The river is contracted to one hundred yards; the rock over which it pours extends, from one side to the other, about thirty feet in height, but the fall altogether is near seventy feet. To those, who had not seen greater, it would appear tremendous; but, having so re-

cently seen the falls of Niagara, these did not quite answer my expectation.

At the back of the Town of Skenectady is a tract of wood land, twelve miles by eight, reserved for the use of every townsman who chuses to cut and fetch his own fire-wood.

Taking the stage to Albany, it was fortunate I sate on the fore seat with the driver, as, going down a stony hill, one of the reins unbuckled, and the two leaders turned short round; the driver, quitting his reins altogether, jumped off to head them, and, if I had not caught them up and with all my strength reined back the two wheel-horses, the coachee must have overturned on the side of a precipice, and in all probability some lives have been lost. I could have saved myself as readily as Citizen Driver, but a sense of duty to so many fellow-passengers (eleven) prevented me.

I lay at Lewis's, the old City-tavern, in Albany, paying seven shillings for my supper and bed, without faring so well as at Cromwell's. Sturgeon is in such plenty and is so common a food at Albany, that, in derision, it is called Albany-Leaf by other Americans.

I took the mail-coach for Poughkeepsie, the fare twenty-four shillings, and experienced sad management and delays at the ferry crossing the North-river. We fared still worse at Kinderhook, at the house where we breakfasted, which

was kept by a very young man, of the name of Ely. It was ten o'clock, yet the room was filthy to an extreme from the over-night's debauch. There was nothing in readiness and but little to be obtained, yet I paid three shillings for a dish or two of bad coffee and a slice of bread and butter, which I chose to help myself to. My travelling-companions, however, had fortified their stomachs on the road by sling-drinking, a prevailing pernicious custom throughout America. It consists of a good deal of spirit, plenty of sugar, and very little water, in a tumbler-glass. Smoking, from morning till night, is as customary even by boys.

Two miles from Kinderhook, I noticed a black coal-like slate on the top and sides of some of the hills. The adjacent land was worth but little; but, should coals be found here, they may prove of considerable value, being so near to the North-river. Bad attention at the houses we stopped at, added to the intolerant self-willed Citizen Drivers, made it twelve at night before we reached Poughkeepsie, at which we ought to have arrived by seven. During the last three hours, we were obliged frequently to alight and walk down several hills, (or run the risk of breaking our necks,) though it rained fast and was very dark.

There being good sloop-packets from this place to New York, I quitted the coach and

stopped to get my linen dried, which, for want of two yards of wax or oiled cloth, to spread over our trunks, were completely soaked. Taking my passage by water, we sailed pleasantly down the North-river, passing the high lands, West-point, Stony-point, &c. The land on both sides was remarkably barren for so great a distance; steep rocks of lime-stone and slate, partly covered with shrub-oak, pine, and cedar. What few houses are seen are small and indifferent, with but little of the land cleared for cultivation; indeed it did not seem worth the expense. As we drew near to New York, a few pleasant good-looking houses enlivened and cheered the prospect, from so long and uniform a view of barren rocks. The passage by the packet was four teen shillings.

The length and detail of this excursion may possibly have proved tiresome to the Reader; and, for that reason, I have endeavoured to abridge the account of my other journeys through the states. I undertook this journey from a two-fold motive; to examine, as an agriculturist, some of the richest lands in America, of which so much had been said; and again to observe the mind of man in its progress from the original savage to civilized life, as well as the retrograde movements from civilization to the savage state. I wished likewise to compare the present state of the Indian tribes with that

in which I had seen them nearly forty years before, and also the difference in opinion which it might make in my own mind, between former juvenile ideas and those of a more advanced time of life.

CHAPTER XXII.

Observations on the progress from the savage to civilized life, and the retrograde movements from civilization to the savage state; character of the Indian savage.

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THE original savage moves on slowly and reluctantly, while under no particular impulse. He considers *ease* as one of the greatest blessings in life, and is not readily roused from it but by the force of some strong passion. Yet, when moved by hunger to pursue his game, by revenge or hatred to destroy his adversary, or by national honour to engage an enemy, nothing in human nature can exceed the ardour of his exertions. Otherwise, he conceives it useless and ridiculous to labour more than is necessary to satisfy the few wants he has; such as to procure fish and

game for his provision; a hut, or wigwam, in preference to a larger house, which he says must be very troublesome; and furs, to exchange for spirits; considering intoxication as his greatest enjoyment.

The little land appropriated for corn and tobacco is cultivated by the women, for he thinks it beneath him; nor have I known a single instance of an Indian cultivating his rich lands, or exerting any mental talents to become opulent, although many attempts have been made to induce them to it. The same may be said respecting their conversion to Christianity, for which so much money has been cajoled out of the pockets of the credulous by knaves, and by fools who have believed the knaves. I do not assert this solely from my own observations and researches, in which I was tolerably inquisitive; but I understood the same from others, who had been much more among them. For myself, I can seriously declare that I never met with or heard of one real American *Christian* savage, who continued to live and reside with his tribe. It is true, there are a few savages who have allowed themselves to be baptized by missionaries, and have received a Christian *name*. In the same way, and with similar ideas, as they would (from savage politeness) receive the honour of knighthood or any other title from their red brethren, (so they call Europeans,) who should

tell them they brought such power from the Great King that ruled and governed on the other side the Great Belt, and press them to receive such honour; for, as such only have they any idea of the title of Christian.

But there was no difficulty in meeting with many savage Christians. When we look at those who have been born and bred in civilized society, retiring to the desert for subsistence, they appear to make a rapid progress in losing every mental refinement, in proportion to the distance they get from the comfortable enjoyments of civilized life. But there are very few (unless they begin early in life) who are capable of becoming the complete Indian, to live by hunting and fishing only; and, as these Anglo-American back-woodsmen carry with them a propensity for a greater variety of indulgences, they are necessarily obliged to labour more to obtain them. But I found no more mind among these retrograde Christians than among the Indian savages.

I would not have it inferred, from this account, that it is in the slenderest degree advisable or eligible to live among the real Indians; it is only in comparison with the white savage, or American back-woodsman, I would prefer living as a real Indian. The pretty tales that are told, of the perfect state of independance, &c. of the native Indians, are all idle nonsense,

The Six Nations are esteemed among the better or more humanized tribe of Indians; yet these, as well as the other, tribes are so brutally savage, that, whenever any of their passions are afloat, they seldom entertain more than *one idea*, the idea or impulse of the moment, by which the Indian is always governed, regardless of consequences: compound ideas he never calculates upon. If a savage likes not your countenance, he tells you so in plain terms, careless of what may follow: he will be equally explicit if he likes you, and so far there is no hypocrisy, which serves as a set off against his want of politeness. But, prone to intoxication, he follows the first impulse of his passion, be it what it may. Should he say he will kill you, he does so, or tries at it, without farther hesitation. It is the same thing as to killing his own child or himself, (his father alone, with the elder warriors, having some power to control him); possessed and engrossed by one idea only, he executes *that* without looking for a second. Or, give him provision for five days, assuring him he can receive no more until the sixth; he will devour it all at one or two meals, according to his appetite at the time, without a second idea of care about to-morrow.

I found little or no difference in my own opinion, from my earliest acquaintance with them to the last, as relating to a comparison between

the free and independant state of savages, and the seemingly more confined state of civilized life. As to the savages themselves, in their persons and manners, they appeared to me much inferior to what I conceived of them before: I could scarcely believe they belonged to the same tribes I had formerly visited. The change, from an undaunted, bold, open, countenance, to a tame submissiveness, without a single acquirement in lieu to benefit their situation, (unless intoxication, as often as they can procure spirituous liquors, be admitted as such,) made them objects of pity, without one trait left in their character to admire.

It was evident, that, when any of the Indian tribes admitted free intercourse and settlement among them, by disposal of their lands for annual tributary allowances, which took from them the spur to active exertions, they shrank and melted away to nothing, and in a few years more will probably be quite extinct. But there are other tribes of Indians, who have more prudently retreated as the Americanised Europeans have advanced, retiring into the still farther back countries, among the more distant nations of Indians; and these retain the primitive energy of savage warriors.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

*Paradoxical difference in Americans, relative to England and France as governments; and between Englishmen and Frenchmen as individuals; & hardships of the French emigrants from the West Indies.*



I now resume what may more properly be called the thread of my own personal history. Soon after my arrival with my family in America, I noticed a singular paradoxical difference in the people of America, between their conduct relative to England and France as countries and governments, and that which they exhibited to English and French individuals.

When speaking of the countries, their partiality in favour of the French was glaringly conspicuous, creating doubts in my mind as to my own reception as an individual; but I found it just the reverse. An Englishman, of any respectability of character and conduct, would be noticed and courted to form intimate connections; while Frenchmen, who to all appearance merited equal attention, were treated with cold civility and distant politeness, as if they were



fearful of encouraging too great an intimacy with them. And I believe the return of affection to the country, as well as to the individuals, of England would have quickened apace, if conciliatory measures had been taken after acknowledging their independance and making peace with them.

On my landing at Baltimore, it was afflicting to see the great number of French families arriving from St Domingo and other islands in the West Indies, whence they fled to save themselves from being butchered by their own slaves. Some with but little, and more without any, of their immense property; in an instant reduced to absolute penury and want. To add to their sufferings, many of those, who had providentially saved something from the flames and from the hands of their destroyers, by getting it on board of American vessels, were stopped in their passage both by English and French cruisers, who, equally cruel, robbed them of the small pittance they thought they had saved. The English considered themselves justified by the laws of war, the French cruisers treated them as emigrants; but, in truth, it was no better than savage cruelty in both. It was little or nothing better than robbery at a fire, and with many this was literally the case; their little *all*, thus taken, being just saved from the ravages of *fire* and sword. Numbers of them I conversed with were glad to save

their lives, while their plantations were in flames, set on fire by their own negroes; and, from a state of affluence and luxury, I have known them reduced to eat the bread of charity.

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## CHAPTER XXIV.

*Mr L——, of New York, in the character of Captain Bobadil.*

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COMPLAINTS against the British government, on account of its cruisers, with loud threatenings of a war, soon pervaded the United States. An Englishman could not walk along the streets, go to a coffee-house, the post-office, or any public place, without his feelings being insulted. One instance may suffice.

I was at the Tontine Coffee-house, at New York, when a Mr L——, expressing his hopes of a war with England, declared the English were such cowards, compared to Americans, that he should be glad to see a fleet of British men-of-war dare to approach and attack New York; being convinced, that sufficient numbers of brave Americans (himself one) would instantly

collect, board, and conquer. In which case, he said, he would put all to the sword, and then strew their carcasses on Long-island by way of *manure*, the only *good* that he knew Englishmen were fit for. Mr L—— certainly acted Captain Bobadil to the life and spirit of the character. This and much more abusive ribaldry was performed under the banner of a cap of liberty. Inquiring of a gentleman present, why this was permitted in a public coffee-room, among prudent sober mercantile men, he observed, that, in a country of *liberty*, every man claimed the privilege of saying what he thought; I then hinted, that another might reply. “Yes, he might, but I advise *thee* not, friend; (it was a Quaker I was conversing with;) “for, should the reply give offence, it is probable they would take the *liberty* of kicking thee out.” I thanked him for so good an account of their one-sided liberty, and followed his advice.

CHAPTER XXV.

Purchase a farm in Rhode-island; suspected of being a spy; embargo.



I HAD travelled over great part of America, without meeting with a situation to answer my expectations. On the contrary, my doubts were nearly converted into certainty, that my favourite projected scheme of farming upon a grand scale could not be accomplished to advantage. I had bought a small farm of seventy-six acres, near Newport, in Rhode-island, as a temporary residence for my family, while I made my researches.

It unfortunately happened, however, that, while thus employed, the growing uneasiness between England and America greatly increased, until it was suspected that Mr Pitt had spies all over the United States; and the Englishman, who did not inveigh against his native country with equal or more violence than themselves, became liable to such suspicion. And sorry I am to say, there were many such degenerate sons of England, Scotland, and Ireland, who made no scruple of it; but it was some satisfaction to find

they were heartily despised by Americans of character.

While I was debating in my own mind what was best to be done, in regard to my own pursuits, I could not but observe, that, noticed and respected as I was by many of the first people in the country, it did not save me from suspicion, and that the multitude honoured me with their notice by announcing me a spy. Mr More, the British consul, who advised me to be on my guard, was the first who informed me, and I treated the report (not the reporter) with the contempt I thought it merited. At length, I heard other whispers, insinuations, and threatenings, as I walked along the streets, until my own farming man at last told me bluntly, (yet in good nature,) that the *people* considered me as a spy; and, on my questioning him as to the cause, he answered drily, that I appeared to know things so well and explored the country so much, the *people* could not believe but I had some other business beside hunting after farms. He added, that I was known likewise to be an old officer, who had seen various services by sea and land, with a capability (magnified by them) of noticing, advising, and directing, which they conceived must have been connected with secret views.

However I might despise the report personally, it was not a pleasant one, nor to be

trifled with, as relative to my family; and, in a republican government, as America is, if a war ensued, it was fraught with danger where the multitude rise superior to the laws. To speak plainly, I did not like the appearance of things: to be considered and treated as a spy, or, on the other hand, to be any way aiding in taking part against my native country, were alternatives I could not well submit to, if in my power to remedy.

An embargo was then laid on all the ports in America, which seemed to cut off a retreat; but, relying on my powers of exertion to rise correspondent to the emergency, I considered well the subject, and had made up my mind in what manner to proceed as soon as the embargo should be taken off; when Dame Fortune turned up a lucky card, that enabled me to sail for England previously to the removal of the embargo.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Engage the Britannia transport, to convey my family to England; Captain Baynton, of the Nautilus, sloop of war, detained on shore by the people at Newport; occurrences thereon; sail for England; deliver to the minister a narrative of plain facts, previously to his interview with the American Plenipotentiary.



THE Britannia, transport, arriving at Rhode-island, with General Rochambeau and his suite from Martinico, afforded me an opportunity of embarking, which I did not neglect. At that time, no man in America could well know more of their real grievances, and the effect produced on the public mind in disposing it for war with England, than myself; and, in addition to my own private concerns, I conceived, that, to convey substantial information to the British ministry, without palliating on one side or aggravating on the other, would be the best service I could render both countries. Those who are employed by government, to procure information, too often shape it to what they think will please.

On these various grounds, I resolved to return instantly; but the democrats, in opposition to the

opinion of the governor of the state, the judge, the revenue-officers of the port, and principal merchants of the place, assembled tumultuously; and, proceeding on board the *Britannia*, unbent her sails and brought them on shore, struck her masts and yards, and took forcible possession, declaring themselves the best judges whether a ship, coming in under a flag of truce to land French officers, ought to be detained or not. This made it necessary to make application to the President, General Washington. I hesitated not, however, to engage the whole of the *Britannia's* cabin, and then posted off to Philadelphia, with a tender of my services to the British minister.

During this, Mr J—— was preparing to sail for England on the subject of American complaints. It was more than 600 miles to Philadelphia and back again, yet I went thither and returned within a week, ready for embarking, and before the order of the president was obtained for the *Britannia's* permission to sail;—possibly some little delay also arose, with a political view, to give Mr J—— the start.

While thus waiting, an occurrence happened which may farther shew the temper and spirit of the Americans at the time. The *Nautilus*, sloop-of-war, arrived at Newport, with the French Governor of St Lucie. I was walking into the town, and met the British consul with Captain

Baynton and his first lieutenant: seeing them escorted by Captain Davis, the sheriff, and going towards the court-house, I suspected something amiss and followed, but was not permitted to enter or converse with them. The state-assembly was then sitting: I waited a short time, gained admittance, and understood Captain Baynton had been sent for on account of some American seamen reported to be on board the Nautilus; and it was determined that the captain, with his lieutenant, who was on shore at the same time, should be detained until a committee were sent on board to examine the ship's company, books, &c. Captain Baynton, after making some ineffectual attempts to get away, was compelled to agree to the committee's going on board, accompanied by the consul, whom as a refugee they treated with contempt.

On their return, Colonel Sherburne informed the house that they found all hands at quarters, with the guns loaded, but were received with great politeness. The ship's company was mustered, the books examined, and every thing complied with, except permitting six men (who called themselves Americans) to come on shore with them without an order from the captain. It was then resolved, that Captain Baynton and his lieutenant should not be allowed to depart, until those six men were safe on shore, discharged, and paid. After some consideration, Captain

Baynton sent an order, by which the men were brought on shore; and, about two in the morning, Captain Baynton and his lieutenant were liberated, Mr More, the consul, being bound for the payment of what moneys were due to them. The ensuing day, certificates for each man's money were made out, signed by the captain and endorsed by the consul. A new difficulty then arose; every merchant in town was fearful of being suspected to side with the British if he credited those certificates, so as to advance money on them: this I was well assured of by the first merchant in the place. The consul's personal credit was not sufficient to procure the cash any other way; and, hearing of this, I waited on the consul, and advanced the money.

When all was thus settled, I laughed at Colonel Sherburne and the other gentlemen of the committee for trusting themselves on board the *Nautilus*; assuring them, that if I had been the commanding-officer when they went on board, I would have played them a Yanky trick in return, by detaining the whole committee until the captain and lieutenant were sent on board.

A few days after, I sailed for England; and, running a race against Mr J——, the American plenipotentiary, I was fortunate enough to arrive time enough to wait on Lord G—— with a concise narrative of facts, without fear, partiality, or prejudice, on a subject, which, from the em-

bargo in America, could be but little known. I hope and believe it was of use, preparing his lordship's mind against the meeting with Mr J—— a few days after; and, as the precise mode I suggested for settling the differences was adopted, it matters not with whom it originated, yet I may be allowed to please myself in thinking I was so far serviceable to both countries.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Unsettled situation; a plan for purchasing some millions of acres of land; embark for the Bahamas; land at Nassau, in New Providence.

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HAVING devoted as much of my time and attention to the public concerns as were necessary and requisite, and settled such of my own private affairs as absence and other circumstances made expedient, I then looked about to consider what was next best to be done; but never, in the course of my life, did I find myself in so complete a void. This never continues long with an active mind.

Disappointed in some attempts to re-settle in England, I became disposed for the most hazardous enterprise that might offer or be thought of; and, giving full scope to a range of extravagant ideas that then started, I endeavoured to digest some of them to the possibility and probability of being realized. Like other projectors, the more I thought on one grand speculative plan I had conceived, the more satisfied I was with it; but it required extensive power as well as capital.

With my project prepared for explanation, I waited on ———, who was soon satisfied that a small expense, with but little risk, would be sufficient to lay the foundation of a mighty undertaking, whether the whole immense fabric proposed to be built thereon should ever take effect or not: secrecy was so essential, that it was agreed no third person should be made acquainted with it, until the first grand point was obtained, which, insuring possession, might then be proceeded on without that apprehension of defeat it was liable to at first. I undertook the whole of the active preparations, until the first blow was to be struck to insure success; then, and not till then, did I require that pecuniary aid which I possessed not, and without which nothing could be achieved. This was to be ready and at my command when wanted, and things were put accordingly in train.

Taking my eldest son with me, I left all the rest of my family in England. No time was to be lost; and, hearing of a ship ready to sail for the Bahamas, from Liverpool, I embarked from that port, sending letters to America, by different conveyances, to facilitate my plan. It was pretty generally understood that I was going to settle at the Bahamas, where I was to have 1200 acres of land given me for cultivation, and there was truth enough in the circumstance on which to found the supposition.

At the time I am speaking of, there were seventeen millions of acres of land to be sold in Georgia, and this in truth was my real grand object. I knew that no foreign government would be permitted to purchase, but a private unsuspected individual might, as a matter of speculation, buy all he was able to agree and pay for; through whose agency it might afterwards be managed. The settling and inhabiting those parts bordering on the river Mississippi, by the influence of any powerful maritime nation, might easily be effected. A rupture with Spain was then expected; who, either by treaty, might have been induced to give up the Floridas for an equivalent, or be compelled so to do. Supposing, then, that Great Britain was again possessed of Florida, as well as Canada, she would have had the two grand navigable inlets and out-

lets of communication for commerce, with a command of all the rich back territories of North America.

Kentucky, and most of the western back countries, were then complaining and threatening to withdraw from the union, if the navigation of the Mississippi was not made free for them, and which it was not in the power of the United States then to do. Any new settled country, increasing in population to 100,000, has a right to claim being free and independant, and this would not have been long under the influence of the government I had in contemplation.

Imagination led me to consider my intended purchase as the link of the chain to join the Floridas with Kentucky, and all the rich tract of back country along the Ohio; and, as the western ports were not then given up and doubts entertained whether they would or not, the connection with Upper Canada would have been easily accomplished, and the United States insulated. Such was my airy castle, at that time. How far it would be prudent to attempt it at all, or to make a purchase of not less than ten and as far as fifteen millions of acres, was to be investigated farther at the Bahamas, or, as it might happen, at South Carolina.

Landing at Nassau, in New Providence, I was politely received by the governor, Lord Dunmore, whose inquisitiveness to learn all the mo-

tives of my visit I did not satisfy, though, from my declining some liberal offers of land he made me, he could not be persuaded that I had any views to settle in the Bahamas.

While there, I was fortunate enough to meet three gentlemen from Georgia, from whom I gathered such information respecting the land and the price it was to be bought at, (from three pence halfpenny to five pence an acre,) as made it unnecessary to go to that state. Congress, I understood, already appeared jealous, and claimed a right to control the sale of those lands. Nothing could be determined on by me, therefore, until that question was decided between congress and Georgia; and, in the event of Georgia succeeding for what they contended, viz. an undeniable right to dispose of the state-lands in any way they thought best, Philadelphia and New York were the best markets to purchase at.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

*Concise account of the Bahamas; importance of these islands; hints for sending convicts thither; the first of settling these islands; a rendezvous for pirates, and residence of the notorious sea-robber, Blackbeard; the pirates expelled and a government settled; extraordinary propagation of their sheep; weakness and poverty of this settlement in 1784; rapid improvements since; excellent fish; plenty of turtle; all other provisions dear; M. Sounise and his wife, their ill-treatment from M'Kenny, Captain of a privateer; undertake their cause; oblige M'Kenny to make restitution; liberality of the gentlemen at Nassau towards M. Sounise.*



THIS affording me a little time, I employed it in examining and learning all I could concerning these apparently much-neglected islands; and I trust that the following short account of a part of the British empire, so little known to people in England, will be neither unprofitable nor un-entertaining. I was indebted to Mr Wyley, a very able counsellor and late solicitor-general of those islands, for much of my information.



These islands, so long neglected by the European powers, and unexplored even by the English settlers and their descendants, who for more than a century have been settled there, may henceforth, on account of their valuable staple as well as their relative situation, be considered among the more important of our colonies. They extend from  $21^{\circ}$  to  $23^{\circ}$  of north latitude, and from  $71^{\circ}$  to  $79^{\circ}$  of west longitude.

The principal islands are twenty-six in number; the smaller islands, or (as they are called) Keys, amount to some hundreds: together, they form almost one continued chain, extending from Turk's Island to the Grand Bahama, in a direction nearly north-west and south-east. The principal harbours, at present known, are those of Exuma; Nassau, in the Island of New Providence; and Little Harbour, at Abaco; but, from the number, extent, and situation, of these islands, it is most probable there are many other harbours equally good with those above mentioned. That of Exuma is by far the best of the three, and they are all formed by one or more keys, or smaller islands, lying in front of the principal island.

To perceive at one view the importance of these islands to Great Britain, for the purpose of protecting our homeward-bound West-India trade in time of war, as well as for annoying that of France and Spain, nothing more will be ne-

cessary than to look into the map, and observe the only two passages by which ships can return to Europe from ports in the West Indies lying to the westward of Hispaniola. One passage lies between the west end of the last-mentioned island and the east end of Cuba, by Crooked and Long Islands; the other round the west end of Cuba, and thence through the strait lying between the coast of Florida and the Islands of Abaco, Grand Bahama, &c. The former of these passages is commanded by Exuma, the latter by New Providence, Abaco, and the other islands to the north-west. These at all seasons afford safe harbours and places of rendezvous to our vessels, while the French and Spanish homeward-bound ships must pass almost within sight of either the one or the other of them. From these ports, our cruisers and privateers may attack them with great advantage, and their prizes be sent, in the course of a few hours, into places of safety, so as to render re-captures in general impracticable.

After what has been said, it is easy to conceive to what dangers our Jamaica trade would have been exposed, if the Bahamas had not been restored. But it is not the situation alone that makes these islands of importance to Great Britain; the extent of our cotton-manufactures, and the many thousand industrious labourers to whom they give bread, render the cultivation of

that raw material an object of much national concern; and the experience of the productive crops, at the time I visited them, evinced that the soil and climate of the Bahamas were well adapted to the culture of cotton.

The northernmost islands, if more cleared and inhabited by industrious farmers, encouraged thereto from England, are well adapted for raising provisions in abundance for the supply of the West-India Islands, and I am inclined to believe would prove healthy, which is more than I think of those to the southward, otherwise than in a comparative degree.

The southern islands are best calculated for getting rich in a short time, and the northern islands for living healthy and comfortable; nor do I doubt, but, in the course of a few years, the farmers in the latter would be at much the greatest certainty. In the one, there is a tolerable depth of soil to work upon; but, in the other, nothing short of actual proof would have persuaded me to believe these islands were capable of such remarkable vegetation as I witnessed.

The natural appearance of these islands is far from being encouraging to the husbandman, who has never before quitted his native soil in Europe. In general, they are either rocky and mountainous, or flat, wet, and sandy: the soil is light and thin, and in most places but sparingly scattered over a white, porous, soft, rock. Of these,

the first strata are for the most part broken and unconnected, lying in sheets from three to six inches thick, and either covering or covered by a very slight portion of light earth, sometimes both. But, however little fertility the appearances promise, certain it is that the tropical plants thrive as well here as in any of the West-India Islands. This, possibly, is in a great measure owing to the rocks themselves: these, from their very porous nature, necessarily receive a great deal of moisture, which they retain longer than it is possible for the soil alone to do in this hot climate, and they certainly yield their exhalations more sparingly to the rays of the sun. But, whatever may be the *physical* cause, the *fact* is, that the long droughts, with which these islands are sometimes visited, are by no means so injurious to plants as they are found to be in most southern climates; and the cotton, except in the planting-season, requires less moisture than any other plant we are acquainted with.

Indian corn, Guinea corn, pease, beans, cabbages, carrots, and sallad, are cultivated with little trouble: yams, plaintains, and bananas, grow in great abundance; the last articles generally wither away in the dry season, but spring up again, from the same roots, for several years successively; by which means, much labour is saved to the planter. And, if *farming* were more attended to in these islands, (instead of the

false pride of being called planters,) the negroes, at little expense, would be fed much better, without being dependant for supplies from abroad, which is often the case in these and still more so in the other West-India Islands.

Dye-woods are found in these islands, but at present in no great abundance, and in all likelihood because not sought for. They have a variety of hard woods, and a small but excellent species of mahogany. Pine of a tolerable size, and much harder than that of the continent, is found upon some of the islands, particularly on Abaco. Ship-timber, equal to any in the world, for vessels as large as 200 tons burden, seems inexhaustible on the northernmost islands.

I acknowledge myself no botanist, and therefore in point of judgement claim but little attention; but, so far as opinion may go, from a common view of things, I conceive there is a fine unexplored field for botanical researches. Pine-apples, oranges, limes, lemons, guavas, and all the tropical fruits, with coffee, cocoa, and pimento, grow extremely well here; and there is little doubt but the climate would be equally favourable to indigo, tobacco, and vines: the latter are indigenous. I observed them growing wild in the woods, in various places; from which I am of opinion, that, if suitable situations for vineyards were sought out, they might be cultivated to advantage for domestic purposes at

least. But their most valuable production, at present, is cotton; and, while that bears anything like its present price, it might be imprudent to attempt any other staple upon an expensive scale, on those islands where it has been proved to grow to such profit.

But this is no reason why those islands, that lie too far to the northward for cotton, should not be cultivated for other productions and the raising of live stock; and, with all due deference to my superiors, if these northerly Bahama-islands (that are so neglected) had been made choice of to send convicts to, instead of Botany-bay, I am persuaded that half the money, which already has been expended on that distant settlement, would before this time have made these islands highly productive and beneficial to this country, in a variety of ways; while Botany-bay will continue to be an eating canker as long as it belongs to us. It may be said, we have gone so far in establishing our settlements at New Holland, that they can not now be given up; yet I should submit, that the convicts might be divided into two classes, of better and worse; the better to be sent to these nearer settlements, as a milder punishment, and the worse to Botany-bay.

Cotton was first planted in these islands in the year 1785, ten years before I visited them. It arose from the industry of American loyalists, and had exceeded their own most sanguine ex-

pectations. On Exuma, a planter, with no more than thirty-two slaves, had made nineteen tons of clean cotton, worth on the spot upwards of 2660*l.* sterling, nearly double the whole value of the negroes by whose labour it was made. Upon that and other windward islands, people have in general been almost equally successful; and, in many instances, a ton or a ton and a half has been made by the labour of a peasant, his wife, and one or two children. Salt also may be made, in any quantities, upon many of these islands, particularly on the Turk's Islands, Exuma, Ragged-island, and at Normon's Pond.

As many of the Bahama-islands lie within the tropics, it would be superfluous to give an account of their climate, which is like that of the West-India Islands in general. The same temperament prevails also, for nearly two-thirds of the year, in the islands which are situated farther north; but, from November to April, during the prevalence of the north-west wind from the continent, the air of these last-mentioned islands is within a degree or two of frost, and fires are then comfortable.

In so temperate a latitude, encompassed by the sea, (the air of which is on all hands admitted to be more salubrious than that of the continent,) the native adult inhabitants of these islands, together with those who have been long enough to become seasoned to a hot climate,

may fairly be said to enjoy their health; and their numerous families exhibit strong proofs that the women are prolific, but it must be confessed the children look sickly. Yet, on Harbour-island, among fifty-eight families, (all natives,) only five different sur-names are found, viz. Roberts, Russell, Saunders, Sawyer, and Currie. Of the Roberts alone, there were nineteen families, all within three degrees of the same common stock or ancestor. The people, in this island in particular, are remarkable for their longevity, which I attribute much to its northern situation; and thence I think it fair to infer, that those islands, which are still farther north, would prove equally healthy. Indeed, were I to make an election for forming a new settlement, I should prefer these to any other of the Bahama-islands, or to any of the new richest back lands in America.

It would be but a small expense to government, to encourage and divert, to these islands, the present frequent emigrations to America from this country. The better sort of convicts would supply the new settlers with the necessary help for clearing and cultivating the land; an aid, which can not be procured in America, nor any substitute for it, and without aid of some kind a man may as well say he possesses so many thousand acres of land in the moon, as in Kentucky, &c. from any advantage he may derive from cul-



vation, beyond bare support to his family, which must be done by his own and their hard labour.

The first European settlement, attempted in the Bahamas, was by the English, in 1668, under a patent from Charles the Second, by which the territorial property of these islands was granted to certain persons, therein named. Little, however, was done or attempted at that time, and the Bahamas soon after became a haunt for pirates and robbers, whose depredations were facilitated and retreats rendered secure by the intricacy of the navigation, so little known at that time. In this state did those islands remain for almost forty years, during a great part of which period, a pirate, named Blackbeard, whose memory is still famous there, possessed the power of a petty prince, enriching himself and his followers by the plunder of merchant-ships that navigated those seas. I have repeatedly been under the large tree where he used to sit and determine all matters in question, relative to life or property, in the most summary way.

To expel these freebooters, Captain Rogers was sent out, as governor, in the year 1718. He erected Fort Nassau, upon the Island of New Providence, and there fixed the seat of government. Since that period, some sort of government has been continued, and of late has been improved: this it wanted. In truth, the propri-

etors, under the grant of Charles II. gave themselves no trouble about it; and so little was done, to encourage either commerce or agriculture in these islands, that until lately they have escaped the attention of the British government, which seemed indifferent about them, and content so long as they did not fall into the hands of any other power.

The inhabitants were poor and not numerous; their property consisted of a few small vessels and some negroes. Their occupations were confined to fishing, wrecking, and wood-cutting; agriculture they had none, nor did they conceive the country capable of it. Their only produce was fruit, with some yams, cassada, and potatoes: they raised no sheep nor horned cattle, yet in no country are sheep more prolific, yearning two or three lambs in common, sometimes four, and this twice a year.

Possibly this account may appear extraordinary to English farmers; but it is a fact, which I well ascertained. The mutton is inferior to none; and, if the smallest attention were paid to keep the sheep within enclosures, instead of suffering them to run at large in the woods, and to provide them with a little stover during the dry season, when the herbage is all burnt up, they would yield considerable profit.

They have a grass, which grows in great luxuriance after a little moisture, and would make

good hay; but, having no winter to guard against, they pay no attention to it, forgetting that the poor animals are as destitute of provision, in a hot dry season, as they would be in a cold sharp wintry climate. I have seen the sheep, horses, and cattle, pawing and scraping with their feet to get at the roots, which they would gnaw many inches within the sandy soil. But the truth is, I did not meet with a single person, in the Bahamas, who had any idea of farming, though it would richly repay them to attend to it. To return to the first settlers; their diet was chiefly fish, and even vegetables were almost unknown among them.

In the year 1784, there were scarcely any settlements but those on New Providence, Eleuthera, and Harbour-island. The whole population then amounted to 1722 whites, (men, women, and children,) and 2333 persons of colour, a great proportion of whom were free; and, at the utmost, there were not 500 acres of cultivated land on all the islands. Their whole export to Great Britain, during the years 1773 and 1774, amounted to no more than 5216*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.* the principal part of which consisted in wrecked goods. Their imports, during the same period, amounted to 3592*l.* 0*s.* 1*d.*

So contemptible, indeed, was this government at that time, that the capital was taken and the governor made prisoner, in the course of the war

with our colonies, by an American privateer. The Americans committed no depredations upon the inhabitants, and, after a short stay, left the island. The government was thereupon re-established, and soon after again interrupted by a considerable force from the Havannah, to which the island of New-Providence, with the rest of the Bahamas, surrendered by capitulation in November, 1781.

By the subsequent treaty of peace with Spain, it was agreed that these islands should be restored to Great Britain. However, previous to the notification of that event, a volunteer-expedition was undertaken for their recovery, by a spirited young partisan, Lieutenant-colonel Devaux, of the South-Carolina militia, and Captain Dowd, of the *Ranger*, privateer, of Saint Augustine. They sailed from Florida, with a force of two armed vessels and about fifty militia. After picking up a few recruits at Eleuthera and Harbour-island, they approached New Providence under cover of the night, took by surprise two stout galleys that guarded the eastern entrance of the harbour; and, turning their guns against one of the forts, soon drove out the troops that were in it. After this successful exploit, a handful of men were landed, and the Spanish governor, with the garrison, amounting to nearly 700 regular troops, were intimidated into a capitulation, through a degree of gal-

lantry and address that have seldom been equalled.

Florida being ceded to Spain, many of the inhabitants of that province, among whom were several loyal refugees from Georgia and the Carolinas, removed, in 1784, to the Bahamas, with their property and slaves, thereby doubling the population of these islands; and it is from that period their importance as a colony may be dated. The islands were soon after purchased from the proprietors by government, and the progress they have since made is wonderful.

There are now several merchants and store-keepers, whose annual exports and imports amount singly to treble and quadruple the amount of the whole exports and imports of the years 1773 and 1774. There is likewise a lucrative trade carried on with the Spaniards from Cuba and Hispaniola, who come over in small fast-sailing craft, bringing with them, besides cattle and sugars, from five to thirty thousand dollars in specie, in each vessel, with which they purchase goods to smuggle back to those islands. The average-quantity of specie may be from eight to ten thousand dollars to a vessel, and seldom a week passed, while I was there, but four or five of these vessels arrived; their business was done and they were gone again within a week. The trade, therefore, is all ready-money to the merchant and store-keeper, and it appeared

to me, that, if the number of merchants and stores were increased tenfold, for supplying the Spaniards, the traffic thither would increase as fast, it being a much more convenient port for the Spaniards to come to, than to go so far round to Jamaica, if they were but sure of a market sufficient to supply them.

The shores of the Bahama-islands abound with excellent fish; turtle is in great plenty and reasonable. Indeed, they are the only two articles of provision that are so, which is so much in favour of a farmer for raising and fattening his stock. In the woods, there are wild pigeons, which afford amusement to those who are fond of shooting; there are also wild cats and racoons, that do much mischief among the lambs, from a want of care: the racoons are generally fat, and are eaten by those who are not prejudiced against them.

As a visitor, the society of the town of Nassau (the only town in all the Bahama-islands) was engaging and pleasant to me, and I had an opportunity of witnessing their great generosity towards a French gentleman and his wife, which did them honour.

M. Sounise, with his wife, had been obliged to fly, leaving a considerable property behind in the island where they were born, bringing but little away beside their watches, jewels, and a little plate. They were on board an American

brig, which was taken and brought to New Providence. As they lodged in the same house with me, I heard them complain that M'Kinney, the master of the privateer who brought them in, refused delivering up their watches and trinkets, together with a black servant-girl, notwithstanding the cause had been tried and an order obtained from the court to deliver them.

What a cruel situation! a remarkably mild pleasant gentleman and an amiable woman had been driven from their possessions, where they had lived in affluence, by their own democratical countrymen. Flying thence, on board a neutral vessel, to seek a refuge in America, they are stopped by another enemy, who, on no other pretence but their being French people, conceived they had a right to plunder them of the very little they had saved, although under the protection of a neutral flag. Appealing to the justice of the English laws, they obtain an order for restitution; yet the wretch, the master of the vessel who has plundered them, trusting that they would find no one to support their just claims, set them at defiance and refused to deliver up their little property.

It was not a pleasant matter for a stranger to interfere in; but, finding no one else was likely to stir in their favour, I undertook it. Waiting first on the owners of the privateer, they referred me to Captain M'Kinney. Applying to him, I

requested he would consult his own feelings, as a gentleman, and do them generous justice. But the brute had no such feelings to consult: he asked me *who* and *what* I was, to interfere in a business that did not concern me, and withal to take a Frenchman's part, and then swore he would be damned before he delivered any of it up. Observing to him, that I seldom undertook any thing by halves, he might therefore be assured, that what he refused to do as a gentleman I would oblige him to perform like a poltroon. This little rencontre passed before half the gentlemen of the town, assembled at a public vendue.

I called on the governor, Lord Dunmore, to explain my motives for such interference; then, taking M. Sounise to Judge Grant's, I inquired if it were true that such an order of court was made; he said it was. "I wait upon you, then, sir, to claim justice for this man, requesting that the marshal of your court be directed to enforce the order." With the judge's directions, I called on Mr Webb, the marshal, to carry the order into immediate execution. This was on a Saturday, in the forenoon, and in the evening I had the satisfaction of being informed, by Mr Webb, that the notorious Captain M'Kinney, having first refused to obey the order, was safe in custody for contempt of court, &c. and that he would lie in goal until Monday, unless I chose to liberate him on security. Mr Webb told me,



that M'Kinney was brought as humble as before he was insolent.

The fellow richly deserved to be punished by the confinement, but I was willing to shew him my different mode of treating a person within my power, and therefore told Mr Webb, that, provided he would be answerable for the restoration of all the property in question on the Monday, I consented, on the part of M. Sounise, that M'Kinney might be at liberty. On the Monday morning, I had great pleasure in seeing the black wench, with all their other little property, delivered to them. It rejoiced my heart to see them all so happy, and they were as grateful in acknowledgements.


What little money they had when taken was plundered and irrecoverably gone, and I then understood that *all* which was thus recovered for them must be sold to pay their expense of living in a place whither they were brought contrary to their will. Mentioning this circumstance, when in company at a gentleman's house, a few days after, Counsellor Wyley, with some other gentlemen of the town, undertook a subscription, by which a heavy bill of their living was paid, with a handsome sum of money to defray their other expenses. In the progress of this business, it was an additional satisfaction to learn, that this fellow, M'Kinney, was not an Englishman but a refugee from New York. He was so com-

pletely ashamed at being thus foiled, that he hurried his privateer out some days before he otherwise intended, sailing the day after he had been compelled to deliver the things up.

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## CHAPTER XXIX.

*Leave the Bahamas; sail for the continent of America; sad disappointment.*



HAVING obtained all the information in my power relative to the main object of my pursuit, and spent what leisure time I could afford in examining and collecting the best intelligence of the Bahamas, I prepared for the continent, to watch and assist the proceedings of congress at Philadelphia, as on their determination every thing depended as to my future prospect of carrying my plan into execution.

Taking a passage for my son and self in an American schooner, we reached the continent in a few days. To mention particulars respecting those I conversed with, consulted, and advised, and those with whom I made provisional agreements for the purchase of some millions of acres

of land, none exceeding sixpence an acre, with liberty to relinquish, unless it should be determined to be a constitutional right in the State of Georgia to sell those lands free from any controul of the federal constitution, will be not only unnecessary but might be attended with mischief.

Matters, however, went on promisingly, until, making application where I felt assured of receiving such aid when wanted, I was refused the advance of ——— pounds, which would have so far insured its accomplishment; and this A—— L——, whom I was then under the necessity of acquainting with the business, knew that it would do; and all the reason I could get was, he would justify himself to the quarter whence he received the instructions which I had delivered to him. I could do no more, my ambitious dream vanished; and, for some time after, I was seriously fearful of the effect from so unexpected a disappointment.

## CHAPTER XXX.

*Purchase a beautiful farm in Long-island; description of the same; noted passage of Hell-gate; difficulty of procuring help; purchase negroes; plan for their emancipation; absurd notions of equality; attempts to cure it and fail; discharge the white and keep none but black servants; reasons for giving up any farther attempt to farm in America.*



THE world was again all before me; but the more I travelled, and the greater pains I took to obtain the *summum bonum*, the greater distance I seemed to be from it. My spirits now began to flag, and I wished to find a place of rest. Humbled as I was in my grand pursuit, I persevered in my other researches, until chance directed me to a farm in Long-island, having the appearance of answering the purpose of sitting quietly down, the remainder of my life, after the struggles I had undergone; trusting that, as my children grew up, there would be no difficulty in procuring situations which might enable them to support themselves with all reasonable comforts: more than this, I now concluded, would not be in my power to do for them. But the sequel will

shew, how much I was disappointed in this moderate expectation.

With the view I have mentioned, I purchased the estate, and sent for my wife and family, determined to give farming in America a fair trial, though on a small scale, compared to what I had originally intended. It was a situation as promising in appearance as could be wished; an excellent house, which I finished, good land, good water, healthy air, fish, game, wild-fowl, variety of fruit, all at command and in abundance. My family were as much delighted with it as myself, and we seriously thought we might here be content and comfortable.

The farm contained 140 acres, about thirty of which were wood-land, (now an essential article on the Atlantic shores near maritime towns, though an encumbrance inland); a good-sized house, but not finished, fifty feet in front and thirty-five deep, square chambers and garrets over, with a large dry cellar under the whole; a barn, stable, cow-house, &c. One-half of the land was the richest loam I had seen near the Atlantic shores, the other half middling, but lying so water shot, that, with 150 rod of a good ditch-drain, and a fortnight's work with two teams to remove large stones, I turned twenty acres of a miry swamp into a good meadow. Fruits of many kinds, such as apples, pears, plums, peaches, quinces, cherries, damsons, currants,

and raspberries, in great abundance from cultivation; there were also strawberries, mulberries, grapes, and walnuts, growing wild, but neither good nor plentiful. Springs of the purest water, near the house, never dry nor ever frozen.

The situation was on the west side of a beautiful bay that opened into the sound, whence market-boats were regularly passing to New York. There were the best oysters I tasted in America, clams of both sorts, and various other shell-fish, to be gathered with ease from my own shore; eels, likewise, in abundance, with variety of other fish, to be caught in their season in the bay and in the sound. Quantities of wild fowl in the winter, and tolerable shooting of game on land.

Our distance from New York was nineteen miles by land, the roads better and more pleasant than most in America; the distance by water was nearly the same, in sailing or rowing of which we had to pass through the celebrated strait, called Hell-gate, at the west end of the sound, about seven miles eastward of New York, and remarkable for its whirlpools, which make a tremendous roaring at certain times of the tide. These whirlpools are occasioned by the narrowness and crookedness of the pass, and a bed of irregular rocks which extend across the bottom, with large detached masses of the same, rising, some level with and others above high-water

mark; and not, as has been related, by the meeting of the tides, which in reality meet several miles to the eastward, between White-stone and Frog's Point. This I frequently had opportunities of noticing, my estate on Long-island being nearly opposite to Frog's Point, and I often went to New York and back by water.

I was apprehensive, from the first, there was not much society in the neighbourhood; but the easy access to and from New York, by land and water, reconciled me to that, and I was assured I might do tolerably well as to help, either by hire or purchase. I thought it a promising medium between the northern states, where there were neither slaves nor servants, and the southern states, where they were all slaves; and that, if farming upon a small scale could be carried on any where in America, to the satisfaction of an English farmer, it was *here*.

I gave 2800*l.* for this estate, ready money. The fences being out of repair, drains and ditches much wanted, and the land so foul as to require every acre of the arable land to be made good winter and summer fallows of, (a mode no American farmer I met with had any idea of,) I wished to employ from ten to twenty men as soon as possible. In the first month, however, I could procure only one; in the next, with difficulty, I hired two more, all at ten dollars a month, with board and lodging. These were

Americans: one-half the work I wanted and directed to be done they refused, not that it was difficult, but they had not been accustomed to do it such way; saying, "If Mr ..... is not satisfied with the manner we are used to plough, &c. Mr ..... had better settle with us and get others."

After many inquiries, I met with and hired a Yorkshire farming-man, who had been in America three years, together with a young Irishman. To them, I gave twelve dollars and a half each, per month, board, &c. The Americans insisted on the same wages, though they could not perform more than half the work of ditching, &c. besides objecting to work where their feet were wet, though in the middle of summer; and, as to ploughing, two buck-rabbits, with a ram's horn, would (comparatively speaking) plough the land as well, and an eel draw as strait a furrow. They would neither be directed nor found fault with, and were consequently discharged.

Convinced I could not get on without purchasing black help, and reduced to the alternative of being a slave to my white servants or having slaves for my servants, I listened to some of the many applications made me from several negroes in the neighbourhood, who wished me to purchase them of their masters, and I bought four. To all of them, I promised freedom in the following manner. I divided the sum I gave for each into so many equal portions; and,



opening a regular account, I engaged, at the close of every year, to set off one of these portions until the whole was discharged, and they then became free provided they behaved well. Any very bad behaviour was to be punished with the mulct of such a part of the yearly portion, according to their demerits in that year; the decisions on which were to be publicly settled and made known to them every year, when assembled together for that purpose: which day I made a gala for them and all whom they chose to invite, nor did my heart ever dilate with much greater satisfaction than on the first of these gala-days, when, with my wife and children, we went among them in the height of their jollity in the evening; and, dancing with them a few minutes only, made all completely happy. But I learned that this gave umbrage to some of my neighbours, who were jealous of its making their negroes discontented.

As no labourers could be hired without boarding, the trouble of providing for them, as well as our own large family, fell excessively heavy on my wife. Giving directions would not do, nor yet seeing to it without helping: in fact, she was the greatest slave in the house. At first, we hoped that in time they would be able to do with directions after being instructed, but it proved nearly as bad at the end as the beginning of the year.

When I got my black help, my white men refused to eat at the same table or same time, if in the same room with my black people, whether free or slaves. They even considered their own equality lessened, by not being permitted to eat at our table. This kind of pretence, set up by European servants, is much more insupportable from them than the native American; with the latter it is natural, and he looks for it without assuming any new consequence. But the European, on whom this assumption is awkwardly grafted, knows not how to make this claim or acquiesce in giving it up, without exhibiting an ignorant, haughty, ferocious, kind of self-consequence, that is truly ridiculous as well as disagreeable. I tried, once or twice, what the effect of example would do. I was felling some large trees, in a wood at some distance from the house, when, having prepared a large meat-pie sufficient for six of us to dine on, and taking two black men, two white men, with my son and myself, we went to work in the forenoon. At twelve o'clock, sweeping the snow away from around one of the butts of the fallen trees, I called them all, saying, jocularly, "Come, boys, as we all work together, let us all eat and drink together." Then, cutting the pie into six equal shares, I handed a piece to each of my whites first, then to my blacks, lastly to my son and myself. But it was difficult to refrain from

laughing at the contrast of the black and white countenances, while eating. The latter, surlily looking at each other, twisted their jaws about as if they had no appetite, while the former (after repeated excuses to wait until we had done, which I over-ruled,) sate with their eyes fixed bashfully on the ground, scarcely opening their mouths wide enough to admit their victuals, yet with a secret kind of smile when they leered at each other. In the morning, we had all worked chearfully alike; but, after this repast, scarcely a word escaped the lips of my white gentlemen, except short answers when I spoke to them: my black mates, on the contrary, were as much on the alert. When returned home, I understood they had said, "Mr ..... might eat with black men if he pleased, but they never would"; and, a few days after, they left me.

Experience taught me it would not do to employ white and black men together. • One black man, that I had bought at his own earnest request, and on the principle of making his wife, child, (whom I had purchased before of a different master,) and himself, happy, by living together under one roof, appeared so grateful and was so careful and attentive to my interest, that I determined to make him my head-man and employ none but blacks, whether free or slaves.

During the severity of the winter-season, it was not material for me to get more help than

what I called my own. I had one quiet, steady, free, black besides, who enlivened the others every evening by playing on his fiddle; and, with this help, I managed my winter's work tolerably well: such as, taking care of my stock, which consisted of thirteen cows, four oxen for the yoke, sixty sheep, four horses, and twelve hogs; carting nearly 400 load of rotten dung, part of that which had been accumulating for years; cutting and carting, or sleighing, posts, &c. for fencing; cutting and sleighing fire-wood; (which I am certain would have employed one man's whole time from Michaelmas to Lady-day;) and preparing every thing for a spirited summer's work.

I endeavoured to engage other help six or seven weeks before my neighbours thought of it; but all in vain, none was to be had: money could not procure men. My neighbours were in the same or worse predicament, and they thought I was well off, having already much more help than any of them, as well as being more forward for my spring-work. But I knew, that, if ever my farm was to render me the produce it ought and was capable of, I must employ a dozen or more hands than I already had. I rode for miles round the country, advertized, sent hand-bills about, and tried every method, but found it a fruitless vain attempt.

We were continual slaves ourselves in all that was to be done, without reaping an adequate advantage. No school near home for those children we had with us, nor could a boy be sent out to a boarding-school under from thirty to thirty-six pounds sterling a year, meaning such schools as they may be put to in England for from eighteen to twenty. It was still dearer and more difficult for girls: in the towns, where you can board them at home, the expense of education is not so great.

Looking forward to what my boys had to expect, I found most assuredly that to bring them up to husbandry would only be making them mere drudge farmers; who, having no better society, would in all probability associate with the sottish horse-racing neighbourhood around; for, it is to be observed, that, however parsimonious they find it necessary to be in house-keeping, every boy on a farm, as soon as turned of twelve years of age, expects a horse to be given him as his own; and, unless it be a racer, he values it but little. I have known several of these on a farm, that have consumed more provender and had more attention paid them than all the live stock besides. Continual challenges ensue among the neighbouring youth, tending to encourage gambling, drinking, &c. which they are naturally prone to from the example of their elders.

Turning from this miserable prospect, I made every inquiry among my friends and acquaintance in Philadelphia and New York, in expectation that their services would be valuable to merchants or wholesale storekeepers, &c. but to my astonishment found I could with difficulty procure a situation for a son, nearly sixteen years old, to be bound until he was twenty-one, where, besides a premium of from 500 to 1000 dollars, I was to find him in clothes, washing, &c. the whole time, and most of them expected to be paid 100 dollars a year besides, for his board. The secret of this value I understood to be thus. A youth, brought up under an employer whose credit was good in England, was likely, when out of his time, to obtain similar credit from the English merchants, either by going over to introduce himself or by letters of recommendation; and it is truly astonishing to what length our English merchants and manufacturers thus stretch their faith, giving credit, to the amount of thousands, to young beginners in America; while, under similar circumstances of knowledge and property in a youth in England, they would probably require some security before they entrusted them with as many hundreds.

Society I had none or worse than none. Nineteenths of the farmers, tradesmen, and mechanics, whom you are obliged to employ from living near, would think it a sin to neglect an opportunity of

taking advantage of an Englishman, whom they suppose to have money: such was the society of my neighbourhood.

In this respect, my wife was more fortunate, as there was a very amiable family of females, consisting of a widow-lady and several daughters, living near us on their estate. But for them, we should have been completely isolated: there was not a man I could associate with as a friendly neighbour.

Another serious circumstance did not occur to my recollection, until I found my health declining from the great anxiety of my mind; this was, in case of my death. Not a single male-acquaintance in the neighbourhood was there, on whom I could depend for any trust-worthy assistance to my family on such an event. This single circumstance can not be too much considered and re-considered by any person thinking of emigration to a distant country.

I soon found there was much to fear, having experienced, (among a variety of other things,) from a Mr Wilkins, whose estate adjoined to mine, a most bare-faced attempt to cheat me out of a flock of twenty-eight sheep, which in a snow-storm had fled from my land to his. Beastly sotting and gambling, at a filthy hole of a tavern in the township, had so impoverished him, that he had no more than two sheep on the whole of a beautiful estate that might have sup-

ported nearly two hundred. Yet he endeavoured to brazen it out, and swear that they were his sheep. Nor would he part with them, until he found I was prepared to use force and had ordered my black servants to drive them home. He then tried to intimidate my poor blacks, by threatening to chastise them if they did not immediately get off his land; but, on my assuring him, that, if he struck any of them, I would horse-whip him as long as I could find him, he rode off, muttering something about law.

It may be supposed that I was unlucky in fixing on so indifferent a neighbourhood: for the credit of the country, I hope it was so; yet, as far as my own observations and inquiries may be allowed, I fear that strangers with property, settling in the country, in most parts of America, would not find my complaints singular. However, this I can positively say, that it was the first and only situation, in any quarter of the globe, where I have not been able to associate among my neighbours; nor can I say I had any dispute or quarrel with those I have been alluding to, (Wilkins excepted,) and so far we agreed; yet I was not blind to continual attempts at imposition.



## CHAPTER XXXI.

*Resolve on quitting America altogether; dispose of my estate in Long-island; comparison between English and American farming, as to profit; comparison between cottagers, labourers, and mechanics, of the two countries.*



I FREELY confess, that, for a considerable time, *pride* prevented me from acknowledging (even to myself) that I had made mistaken calculations. Strong circumstances of private friendship at home came likewise to my aid: never before, until I experienced the want, had I so truly appreciated the value of having a sincere friend at hand to communicate with.

It had required considerable resolution to comply with that which I considered my duty to my children, in formerly breaking up old connections and removing from England to settle among strangers in America; but it required much stronger resolution, by returning, to confess the mistake I had made. Nor would I wish the greatest enemy I may have, to suffer the agonies of mind I endured on the score of duty and friendship, battling against pride, before I came

to a determination. Under all the existing circumstances, I at last resolved to swallow the choke-pear of my false pride, by disposing of my farm and returning to England, in spite of the sneers I might subject myself to from those, who, pluming themselves on an opinion of superior sagacity, should exclaim, "this is just what was to be expected from his mad scheme."

Many of my acquaintance in England were of opinion that I had bought my estate in Long-island at a very dear rate. Hudibrass says,

"The real value of a thing  
Is just as much as it will bring."

According to this rule, therefore, I made a cheap purchase, or at any rate a good bargain, by reselling it for 800*l.* more than I gave for it. It is true, the little I had done gave it so different an appearance and consequent reputation, that I was afterwards informed it would have as readily sold for 4000*l.* as the 3600*l.* I asked and obtained for it.

High as this price is, compared with what lands may be bought at in the back countries, I could have made more from that (besides living more in the manner we had been accustomed to) than from the same property employed in purchasing and farming the richest lowest-priced lands in Kentucky, the Chenessee-country, or along the banks of the Mohawk. Yet, at the best, a man can only be a petty farmer in Ame-

rica, compared with what he might be by employing the same capital on a farm in England.

I frequently drew a comparison between some of the best American farmers that I knew, living on estates of their own, from one to seven hundred acres of land, and farmers I had known in England, renting the same quantity of land; when, the advantages, in every instance, appeared considerably in favour of the English farmer. And I am confident, that, if any good English farmer, with a property of from 100*l.* to several thousands, employs the same in farming in England, he will make considerably more, from any given capital, than he possibly can in farming with it in America, and with ten times the ease and comfort to himself and family. But what most surprized me was, that neither the cottager, (of which class there are few,) labourer, country mechanics, such as carpenters, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, &c. nor tailors, nor shoemakers, appeared to live so comfortably, either in their houses, families, food, or clothing, as the same description of people in England, notwithstanding the extravagant wages they receive.

I was for some time at a loss to account for this; but the difficulty was in some degree removed, by observing more than one-half of their time, both in winter and summer, was lost or spent in idleness at their sordid taverns, in their horse-races,

fishing-frolics, shooting, hunting, and various other frolics, all amusements in America being called frolics. Added to this is the high price of provision, in a country which has such general credit for cheapness of living, and which it fairly obtained before the revolution.

For bread, we did not get half the weight for a shilling that we did in England, before we left it; and again, on our return, for salt pork (almost the only meat these people eat when providing for themselves or families) I paid seven pence a pound, by the quantity, bones and all, and sold it at the same price when I parted with any from the farm. Cheese was from seven pence to ten pence per pound; and one person in New York took all the butter I made throughout the summer, from twelve cows, at seventeen pence halfpenny a pound, as an average-price. Potatoes were two shillings for an eight-gallon bushel measure.

I enumerate only those necessities of life chiefly used by the afore-mentioned mechanics, &c. in 1795 and 1796, and the prices mentioned are sterling. From this account, it would appear that farmers must make large profits; and so they do, in their way. But the whole quantity of grain, cattle, &c. that is raised for market, on farms of several hundred acres of land, is trifling, compared with that which a good farmer in England produces from the same number of acres; and may justly be compared, in the one

case, to a small retail trade, that makes large profits on small returns; and, in the other, to a wholesale trade making small profits on large returns.

It is this which deceives so many; English farmers naturally conceiving, that, if they can buy land at a low price and sell the produce at a dear rate, they must consequently *soon* grow rich. But the want of help confines them to the class of retail dealers only; and I scarcely knew an American farmer who would allow himself or family to eat a bundle of asparagus from his own garden, if he could send it to market; and so of every other minute produce. I allude to men who hold and farm several hundred acres of land, their own property.

I have been sometimes asked, what a good farmer in England could produce from good land of from three to four hundred acres; and, when I have told them that I have known more than 10,000 bushels of wheat, oats, barley, and beans, altogether produced from such a farm, besides keeping more sheep and cattle than they did on a similar-sized farm, their looks have indicated, "I *guess*, now, that is an English lie."

Hard-working labourers, and people of the necessary mechanic trades, are the most likely to do well in America; and, even of these, I met with several instances of their complaining and wishing they had not left their own country; for, that,

notwithstanding the high wages, they declared they saved no more money, did not live so comfortably, nor could they find half the enjoyment, in their leisure-hours, for a dollar, that they had in England for half the money.

Among others, I remember a Welch tailor, who had been working in Philadelphia, for several months, at great wages; and, taking me for the master of some ship as I was walking on the keys, inquired if I could help him to a passage home. On my questioning him about it, he said he could save more, and live much better in Wales, where he meant to return. I likewise met with Mr Russel, from Birmingham, who, in conversation, acknowledged, that his opinion of America coincided exactly with my own; adding, with a sigh, "You can do as you like, sir, as to returning; but Dr Priestly and myself came over to America on different principles; and, though much, very much, disappointed here, we cannot return."

## CHAPTER XXXII.

*Anecdotes; Captain Frazer, grandson of Lord Lovat; Duke de Liancourt; Sterne's old officer realized; Colonel Hamilton; General Green's widow.*



A FEW anecdotes, that occurred while in America, may probably be entertaining; and some instances of the vicissitudes of fortune, that came under my own observation, may prove as useful lessons of contentment to others as they were to me.

*Captain Frazer, a grandson of Lord Lovat.*

When Prince Edward arrived at Boston from Canada, on his way to Martinico, he was expected to pass through Newport, in his way to New York. I had dined at the house of Mr More, the British consul at Rhode-island, when Captain Frazer, calling himself grandson to Lord Lovat, waited on the consul, requesting he would introduce him to the prince on his arrival; saying, he should be happy to serve as a volunteer under his royal highness. He informed us, that

he had been an officer in the French king's guards; that he had maintained his loyalty to that sovereign and was sent over to Saint Domingo, where the republican party gaining the ascendancy, he, with many others, took refuge in America. Without knowing who he was, I had noticed him and four more French officers as entirel depending on the charity of the state for support, for several months previous to meeting with him at Mr More's. Prince Edward embarked for the West Indies, from Boston, which prevented the application. Within a week after, M. Fauchet, the French minister in America, advertised for all French citizens to make immediate application and prove their attachment to the republican cause, on oath, or they would be considered as emigrants in favour of royalty. What could poor Frazer do? he had, through a severe winter, been eating the bread of charity, without the least cheering notice from any, except a passing stranger or two. Necessity compelled his loyalty to retreat; for, within a month after his expressing a wish to enter as a volunteer under the prince, to go against Martinico, I saw him at Philadelphia with the tri-coloured cockade in his hat.

Reflections unavoidably arise on the sufferings of this man's family in the cause of royalty. Obliged to flee from England and quit their possessions, on account of their attachment to



King James's family, they were received by the court of France, and obtained establishments which created attachment and loyalty to the royal family of that country. Again they were plunged into similar misfortunes, flying from the fury of one republic to receive a scanty heart-galling charity in another. In this situation, he would have returned to the colours of the country of his ancestors, but fortune or chance refused the opportunity.

*Duke de Liancourt.*

I lodged and boarded, for a short time, in the same house at New York with this ci-devant nobleman, and could not but admire the composed philosophy with which he bore so great a change in his situation and circumstances: from the possession of more than 100,000*l.* sterling yearly, he was reduced to live without a servant. As he was one day brushing his own clothes, he observed, with a cheerful countenance, that, had it not been for the revolution in France, he should never have known how easy it was to wait upon himself.

*Sterne's old officer.*

There wanted nothing but the *croix de St Louis* to complete the reality of Sterne's picture, in the daily appearance of a veteran French officer, at a corner of the Fly-market, in New York,

having a neat basket of little rich heart-cakes, made by his wife and daughter, and which he thus attended to sell. Thousands besides myself must have seen him within the years 1794, 95, and 96, though they may not have noticed him so much. With a high cocked hat, he stood as upright as a soldier under arms, holding the basket before him without saying a word, unless in answer. The features and muscles of his countenance seemed fixed, as if recollecting what was due to his former rank in life, nor could I ever perceive the faintest approach towards a smile. I could not pass him without some of those sensations which Sterne so irresistibly creates by his inimitable description, and I became a constant customer, either to his basket, when any of my children were with me, or to his snuff-box, in which I usually dropped a small piece of silver, requesting he would replenish it against my next call. These and many such like instances, which I might enumerate that came within my observation, operate as wholesome checks against repining at our own lot.

*Colonel Hamilton.*

I was in conversation with this gentleman, in Philadelphia, while he was secretary-of-state, on the day that the motion for the sequestration of the British property was expected to be determined. The member, who had originally made

the motion, called to speak with Colonel Hamilton. On the colonel's return, he observed to a member of congress, (Mr Bourne,) who had accompanied me thither, that Mr Dayton obstinately persevered in renewing his motion that morning. The colonel was vexed, and, to shew his detestation of the principle of the motion, as injurious to the reputation of America, he said it might be compared to an attack made on a beautiful virgin by a negro, (Mr Dayton was member for Virginia,) which, though repulsed, would leave a stain; and, if carried into successful execution, must blast her character for ever. Colonel Hamilton was esteemed inferior to no man for abilities; but, like General Washington, General Green, and others, met with ungrateful returns.

One instance of public ingratitude to Green's family I was witness to. The general's widow, with a lovely daughter, was at Philadelphia, attending a petition to congress on the following account. During the war, when the General commanded the army to the southward, he found so great a difficulty in procuring supplies, on account of the distrust of the validity of the payments from congress, that, to procure those supplies, which would obviate the necessity of disbanding his army, he gave his own security in addition. It appeared, he had gone beyond the powers granted him by congress; but it was al-

lowed by all, that, in so doing, he preserved his army and with it that part of the country. Yet the estate he left to his family was seized for the payment, and they were in danger of ruin unless congress voted a provision for the payment of those supplies which General Green had so obtained. I was in the house during the agitation, and doubted much whether it would be granted or not; it was obtained with great difficulty and only by a small majority. Ingratitude to their best servants, for public services, seems to be a strong feature in republican governments.

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## CHAPTER XXXIII.

*Customs in America differing from those in England; curious instance of neglect relative to manure; hidden treasure; no fairs in America; sudden death of a man on his arrival, during the yellow fever; the property saved for his creditors at some hazard of my life; melancholy death-like silence in New York during this dreadful distemper; resolutions in case of an attack.*

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IN some of the states, it is permitted to attend to hay-making and the harvest on Sundays as

well as other days: a practice I rather approve than condemn, not only as securing individual property, but of great essential consequence to the whole community; and, in my humble opinion, one of the strongest and best modes of testifying our gratitude to the beneficent Being, for those bounties of the earth, is by securing them in the best manner.

I was likewise pleased with another circumstance, as a pretty general custom in the New-England States. In a courtship, if it were known that the man inquired what fortune the friends of a girl meant to give with her, the lass in question would resent it so highly as to discard the best suitor in the country, and he would afterwards have a difficulty in finding any girl to listen to him.

An opportunity of procuring sea-weed in America, for manure to a farm, is esteemed an invaluable advantage. Industrious farmers, who possess an abundance of it, will lay from thirty to sixty loads on an acre, as wet with sea-water as they take it up from the shore; and the beneficial effect produced by this manure was evident enough from the difference in the same field, where such manure was thrown and where not. But I could not persuade them to cart it into their yards first, to mix with their barn and stable manure. Indeed, their negligence, in not using the manure raised on their farms, is almost

incredible. I have already slightly mentioned there being some hundred loads of rich manure, which had been collecting for several years, to the great damage of the buildings, on the estate I bought at Flushing, in Long-island. When I had settled and paid for the estate, I asked Mr Nichols, of whom I purchased it, if there was any thing, as matter of local information, that he thought might be useful to acquaint me with. "Why," said my predecessor, with a dry knowing look, "you old-country men are generally pretty smart in seeing things, but really now you have overlooked one matter, which I did not wish you to notice, and that's the truth on't. Howsoever, you have done so fairly, in settling and paying, that, as you ask it, I will tell you. I *guess*, you will be obliged to remove your barn this summer, or you will not be able to get in or out." — "How so, Mr Nichols?" — "Why, you must either move the barn or the dung, and you may do the former much easier than you can the latter, as I have already experienced three different times." I thanked Nichols for his information, inquiring if there was any thing else I had overlooked. He replied in the negative; and, taking me by the hand, laughed heartily, significantly remarking, that he believed I should have a tough job of it.

A few months after, Mr Nichols, who had removed some distance off, rode over with his two

sons, apparently in great anxiety. The old man inquired, if the report of what I had said was true, that, in digging round the barn and stable, I had found a considerable golden treasure. I told him it was true enough. "Bless me," said the old man, wiping the perspiration from his face, "how often have my sons and I searched for it, not only on this estate, wherever we thought it likely, in the day-time, but have worked hard for hours and hours in the night, on the adjoining estates of my neighbours, on some particular suspected parts, that seemed to answer the description where it was reported so much money was buried during the war! And now," continued old Nichols, "you, who are a stranger, without any toil or trouble as it were, pop upon it, just as if you knew the exact place where to find it. But I hope you are honest enough to let me go halves with you;" and he was proceeding to assign reasons why he was entitled to at least half, but a sudden burst of laughter from me stopped him; and, on telling him, that, as I had purchased and paid for every thing fairly, I considered *all* as my own, Nichols and both his sons began to be cross, and the elder swore roundly that he believed I was well acquainted with every circumstance concerning the money, and possibly was at the hiding as well as the finding, which accounted for my coming, like a crafty old serpent, to buy the

estate in such a hurry, by giving all his father asked before I had half examined it. Taking my hat off, I bowed most courteously to them, as they sate on horseback, and thanked them for selling me so good a bargain; adding, that certainly I would have given more had they asked more, sooner than have lost what I was in search of at the time I purchased the estate; then, bowing again, I left them in the road near the house, without explaining any farther about the golden treasure; but I heard one of the young men curse me heartily for a damned old Satan.

I was much gratified by this rencontre, as it afforded me the opportunity of punishing them, in a way they deserved, for a very scurvy trick they had attempted on me as an entire stranger. Having agreed for the estate, they offered all the live and dead stock upon the farm, at a fair appraisement, to be taken that day week. As I walked about, I took notice sufficient of the stock, (of the cows, in particular, which were very good,) so that, on the morning when every thing was to be valued, I found the live stock almost wholly changed; and a quantity of old rotten stuff to be valued as implements, which I learned afterwards they had been collecting for the purpose of taking the Englishman in. I soon made up my mind, and, when all was said to be ready, I asked Nichols, if the live stock we then saw in the yards formed the whole stock

of the farm. "Yes," he replied. "Then," I observed, "I declare they are not the same, nor any way like the same, with that which I saw and agreed for with you this day week, to take now by appraisement; and I dare you to come forward, before some of your neighbours present, and take an oath that the stock is the same you had on the farm when I consented to purchase." This he could not do: I therefore declined taking any, but allowed him another week to dispose of them by public sale or any other mode he might chuse, by which he lost considerably; and, from that time, the old man and I did not rightly accord. I verily believe, that to this day, if alive, the Nichols and some others in the neighbourhood think I dug up a considerable sum of money; nor do I doubt, but, when I afterwards sold the estate to another, it confirmed them in that opinion.

Throughout the United States of America, there is neither a fair nor a shew of cattle, to accommodate buyers or sellers; so that, want what he may, a farmer must trust to chance for picking it up. A sale by auction, therefore, when occasioned by death or other causes, will draw farmers, &c. for more than thirty miles, some to purchase and some to make a frolic of it. Burials are attended in the same manner; and, noticing some indecorous behaviour at one I

attended, I asked if the meetings at funerals were also considered as *frolics*.

There are too many who run away from Europe to America with the property of their creditors. One of these went out in the same ship with my family, under a disguised name, but his flight was soon terminated, at New York, by the yellow fever, and the property he took with him nearly lost, from having neither friend nor acquaintance in America who knew any thing of him. During the passage out, he spoke of himself as a married man, desirous of seeing America previous to determining whether he should settle there, for which purpose he had brought with him a few hundreds to defray his expenses of travelling, &c.

At the time of the ship's arrival at New York, the fever broke out. I was more than 200 miles distant at the time. Hastening to New York, to get my family away, I was informed this gentleman was ill, or he would have been glad to be introduced to me. He continued so for two days: on the third, I set off in the morning, in my chaise, to shew my wife the estate I had bought. Returning, in the evening, we were informed, that, within an hour after our setting off, this poor unfortunate had sent for me, being told, by the physicians, that it was necessary for him to settle his affairs without loss of time; and, if he had any friend he wished to commu-

nicate with, he must send for him. He had never seen me, but sent immediately to request my attendance to receive the property he had with him, and probably to communicate some other matters, but I was unfortunately gone. Being pressed to send for some one else, as they were under the necessity of removing him from the city to the hospital, he then sent for the gentleman at whose house I lodged; but, so great a dread then pervaded the people's minds, he was afraid to go near the poor man to receive his bank-notes and gold, though then seated in the open air. He was therefore hurried away to the hospital, the captain of the ship he went out in accompanying him; but he had seen too much of the captain's conduct, during the passage, to trust him: he died the same afternoon at the hospital.

On the following day, the captain informed me, that the unfortunate man, being disappointed at my not coming, had at last sent for the master of a tavern where he had called occasionally, to whom he had delivered English bank-notes to a considerable amount. And here, possibly, the matter would have died away and sunk in oblivion with him; but, understanding that he had left a widow, who might suffer much from never knowing what was become of him or his property, and that the property was in a hazardous situation; some people of respectability

likewise declaring, from their knowledge of both captain and publican, that, sooner than quarrel to endanger the whole, they would agree to divide the spoil between them; for these reasons, I engaged to stir in it. At any other time, the staying in New York, to get such a business settled, would have been nothing; but, as it was, every additional hour was fraught with danger.

I called on the captain the following day, desiring something might be done to secure the property; and, at last, insisted that he or the publican, or both of them, should administer properly to the effects and give security for the same to the legal claimants. This neither of them was able to do, their credit was so bad. What had been required of them I was willing, I observed, to do myself. On their declining, therefore, I took two respectable merchants of the city, as bondsmen, procured letters *ad colligendum bona*, and demanded the property; when, finding I was too much in earnest to be trifled with, on the third day I had between five and six hundred pounds paid over to me, chiefly in bank-notes; giving a receipt for all I received, and delivering in an account to the judge of the court of probates. I next made a careful examination for papers or any thing that might give information about his friends, but all in vain.

A captain's commission in the Royal Saint George's, Hanover-square, Volunteers, in the

name of I. H. H. and two letters directed to the same name, were all I could find; by these, it appeared he must have gone by a feigned name. I wrote to England accordingly, and found, by return of answers, that I had been hazarding my life for the creditors instead of his widow. Doubtless, the claim of the creditors was legally paramount, and I was pleased to save it for those to whom it was due; but I freely acknowledge, that I should not have run that risk, for so promiscuous an assemblage of people as creditors are in general composed of, which I so cheerfully undertook for the sake of the widow and family; and I think that few besides myself would have so Quixotishly volunteered on any account for strangers, at a time when every hour's stay in the city made it more hazardous. Even his trunk of new clothes, delivered to me from the ship, (apparently untouched since his leaving England,) was refused admittance into any house, and I was obliged to smuggle it down to my farm by water, as one of my own trunks. For all this, I acknowledge I received a letter from the assignees, superabundant in expressions of very grateful obligations. *Cetera desunt.*

In my account of the state and city of New York, I have given a concise opinion concerning this fatal disorder, as to whether it is more likely to be generated or imported; but, whatever was

the cause, the effect was dreadful, which I had several opportunities of seeing.

From earliest life, it was a rule I laid down never to turn aside from danger, if duty of any kind called me. The market-boats, and carriages of all kinds, refused at last to go to New York. Having some articles there, essential to be fetched away, I was giving directions to my servants, but observed an evident reluctance in their looks and manners. To prevent a positive refusal, I said it was not my practice to ask others to do what I was afraid to do myself, and that I should go with the waggon and take any two with me that were not cowards. They were then ashamed to refuse, and we set off the next day.

It was the second day of the greatest mortality that raged during the disorder. No less a calamity could well have produced such a death-like silence as reigned throughout the city. With great difficulty, I transacted my business; and then called on a few friends, who were attending the last sad duties to their nearest connections. I endeavoured to cheer them with the consolation of hope, and slept that night in the city, at the Tontine Coffee-house; but this, which was intended for rejoicing the heart, was, like the rest, the house of mourning. Passing along the streets, both on that and the following day, no human voice was heard but that of wailing

and lamentation, and every face I met bore strong characters of desponding melancholy. The whole time I was there I noticed but two carts, exclusive of the burial-carts. I felt not the smallest apprehension as to myself, and am persuaded that the liability to receive the infection, as well as the recovery of those ill of the disorder, depends greatly on the state of mind a person is in as to alarm or fear.

I had also taken the resolution how to act in case of an attack, and was provided with a strong dose of ipecacuana, which I had found so efficacious at Bencoolen, in the Island of Sumatra, to clear all the passages as soon as possible, and then trust to Dame Nature, assisted with cheering tonics; but it was much better not to have it put to trial.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Imprudence of some Englishmen; serious consequences likely to have resulted; Frenchmen's triumph over an old English regimental coat.



AT the time I resided at the Tontine Coffee-house, in New York, the imprudence of a few Englishmen had nearly occasioned a serious piece of business.

A strong party of New-Yorkers, in the French interest, had, some time before, fixed the American and French flags up in the public coffee-room, as united. It seems that the appearance of the French tri-coloured flag gave such umbrage to these Englishmen, who were on their way from some of the southern states to Nova Scotia, that, in passing through the room about three in the morning, to embark on board the vessel they were to sail in, they most courageously broke off the French flag and carried it away.

I slept there the same night, and early the next morning, intelligence of the insult having spread through the city, all the Frenchmen and Americans, in New York, were assembling, to take vengeance on the authors, if they

could learn who they were. The master of the house being an Englishman, he and every Englishman in the house were implicated in the suspicion, and the house itself was threatened to be pulled down. Previously to this tumultuous assemblage, I had begun my usual early morning walk up and down the piazza adjoining this room, unconscious of the offence committed, until the vehement *sacre Dieu's* drew my attention; and I then continued moving among them as unconcerned as possible. Boats were manned with armed volunteers, to pursue those who were, by the waiter, reported to have done it; the winds being so light as to allow the probability of overtaking the vessel they sailed in. At the same time, strong suspicions fell on some English gentlemen who had spent the evening with those that were gone; inquiries were made for them to come forward and clear themselves, but they deemed it more prudent to keep out of the way.

A number of these *enragés* then made a search throughout the house, but without finding what they sought after. It happened, however, that, in a room occupied by Captain Codd, an English officer from Canada, on his way to Europe, they found a harmless old regimental coat, which they seized with great intrepidity and bore away in triumph, determined to sacrifice it to the manes of their insulted and departed tri-coloured flag. This destined victim was accordingly taken

down to the public coffee-room; and, in front of the remaining part of the iron stump of the flag-staff, was hacked and torn into hundreds of pieces. Happy seemed every Frenchman who could obtain the smallest remnant, to bear away as a trophy of their gallant exploit; though, from the execrimentary indignities that were first showered down upon it, I should not suppose that the odour arising from the trophy had any spicy-like fragrance to render it acceptable to their mistresses.

I scarcely know which to blame most; the Englishmen, who so courageously attacked the unprotected harmless flag in the dead of the night, then ran away and escaped the consequences, leaving all their countrymen (and there were several in the house) involved in a suspicion of being concerned, and liable to be maltreated for a business they were wholly ignorant of; or, the equally - courageous Frenchmen, who so manfully captured and destroyed the poor coat, in the owner's absence.

Fortunately for those who had so imprudently committed this act of folly, the boats returned in the evening without having overtaken them, or I firmly believe their lives would have fallen a sacrifice to the enraged party; as, from the refusal of the Mayor of New York to afford the smallest protection, on an application made to him by the master of the coffee-house and other

inhabitants, it was evident enough he was fearful of doing his duty. Thus adding one to many other proofs I witnessed of the weakness of the executive power of a republican government to enforce the laws, whenever the multitude think proper to take the power into their own hands.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Genuine French equality; entertainment on board a French frigate.



A FEW days after this, I had an opportunity of seeing genuine French equality in all its glory. I was at Newport, in Rhode-island, when twelve of the principal inhabitants were invited to an entertainment on board the Medusa, frigate. My two most intimate friends, Doctor Senter and Major Liman, were among those invited; and, being a visitor at the house of the former, he was requested to ask me, in the most delicate manner, whether I would accept an invitation. I had no hesitation in saying, that, as a traveller, *en-passant*, I considered myself at liberty in a

foreign country to accept any polite invitation whatever; adding, (to my friends,) that I was desirous of gratifying my curiosity, I might never meet with the like again; and judging, by the delicacy used in the invitation, that I should find nothing particularly offensive to me as an Englishman, I would accept the same. Governor Mifflin, from Pennsylvania, was the only stranger, besides myself, that was thus invited.

A general discharge of great guns and small arms saluted us as we went on board. To give any account of their appearance as to discipline, when, at the request of General Governor Mifflin, the men, &c. were ordered to quarters, and by firing and loading went through a mock engagement, would be a very ungracious return for the civilities received. The politest attention was paid, and we sate down to an elegant dinner with all the commissioned officers belonging to the frigate. I was seated between Governor Mifflin and Monsieur Fauchet's secretary, and can truly say I heard not a syllable the whole day to give the smallest offence to my feelings, as a Briton.

It was not long after dinner, before the boatswain, gunner, carpenter, &c. were introduced and desired to take their seats. The captain proposed their healths, which were drank, observing that those (the warrant and petty officers) were the heroes to whom France was indebted for her

glory. I admired this manner of treating those officers, operating as a strong stimulus to a full discharge of their duty, on which much depends. But what can possibly be said for passively suffering as many of the ship's crew as thought proper abruptly to pour into the cabin? most of them in the coarsest dishabille that can be conceived, even to disgust. Yet these people were allowed to crowd around and squeeze in upon part of any person's seat, helping themselves to the wines and liquors that were on the table, and out of any persons glass they could lay hold of.

All was confusion, drinking, singing, and dancing, (*carmagnole*), men and officers jumbled together, dancing round in various circles, apparently mad and crazy in their enthusiastic shouts of *Vive la République*. Equality rode triumphant; and, as a matter of curiosity, I enjoyed the scene. Nor could I have so fully conceived (much less credited) the accounts given of these fraternizing and equalizing systems, if I had not seen what I did.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Slavery in North America, in Turkey, Barbary, the European States, up the Mediterranean, and in the East and West Indies; observations on slavery; hints for a gradual emancipation.



IN some parts of my account of America, my objections to any thing that seemed to countenance slavery are cursorily mentioned; and yet I afterwards acknowledge to have purchased some slaves. I wish to remove any appearance of inconsistency on this head, and know not how I can do it better than by giving my opinion on the long-contested point for the abolition of slavery. It is an opinion I gave, some years back, to a much-valued friend, who requested it when the subject was so generally agitated and claimed the public attention. It is true, since that time I have myself purchased slaves; yet have I never changed my opinion, but remain more and more confirmed in it.

Having seen slavery in a variety of shapes, in different parts of the world, not to have considered it would reflect on my humanity: I have often, very often, and with sensations that varied

as the time and circumstances occurred; and I believe the surest, shortest, and clearest, way of delivering my thoughts on the subject, will be by sketching an outline of the kinds of slavery that have fallen within my notice. In the general acceptation of the term *slavery*, there is not, cannot be, a more sincere well-wisher for a proper abolition than myself. How that is best to be carried into execution, so as to produce the greatest good and occasion the least evil, deserves serious consideration.

In North America, taking those parts to the northward and eastward of Pennsylvania, the slaves are much happier, from being better fed, clothed, and taken care of, than they would be if left entirely to their own liberty; I am an advocate, however, for restoring them to their natural rights. To enfranchise the whole immediately would not be the best possible good for them. What has already been done (bringing them or their ancestors from Africa, to make them slaves) cannot be undone, but a continuance of the horrid traffic is unjust and wrong in the extreme.

In Turkey and Barbary, there are two (or more) kinds of slaves: those who are bought, and the Europeans who are made prisoners of war. The first we may class with the negroes in America and the West Indies, while the latter are to be pitied the most of any description of slaves I

have seen. Dreadful, indeed! is the situation of these unhappy mortals, compared with whom the slaves in our plantations are free men. And here we may lament that we have not the power to interfere respecting a quick abolition of their slavery.

It is unnecessary to notice all the similar kinds of slavery, seen in different countries; I shall select those only that appeared to me to differ from the rest. In all the European states up the Mediterranean, they have slaves who have been condemned as such on account of crimes: the justice or injustice of their sentences is no part of the present inquiry; but, admitting they were fairly tried and convicted, I hesitate not to say, I think it much more justifiable to deprive them of their liberty than to take away their lives, let the crime they have committed be what it may. Of course, I am no advocate for abolishing this kind of slavery; yet it requires numerous regulations to make it answer the intended purposes of *punishment, repentance, reformation, and example.*

In the East Indies, slavery assumes a milder aspect, slaves being chiefly bought and kept for domestic uses. The native poor, with large families, in times of scarcity, think they can not do better than to dispose of their children, either to the opulent natives or Europeans; and, being sold when young, they become strongly attached

to their masters or mistresses, from whom they receive every thing, even to superfluities; so that to enfranchise them, and turn them adrift to get their own livelihood, would be a punishment in nine cases out of ten.

One matter of fact is worth a dozen suppositions. I had a boy sent me from Bengal to Masulipatam, when about eight years old, as a present. My friend, who sent him, wrote me word it was an act of charity, for the mother had been some time importuning him to take the boy a slave; and, on mentioning his intention to send the boy such a distance, she was perfectly satisfied when informed it was to an English officer of his acquaintance. The boy continued with me for some years. When about to leave India, I offered him his liberty and to send him back to Bengal. On the first mention of the circumstance, he threw himself at my feet as I sat; and, lifting one of them up with his hands, placed it on his head upon the ground, and desired me to kill him rather than turn him away. I accordingly kept him until we arrived at St Helena, where I made some stay; and it became a serious consideration upon learning that there had lately been great disturbances in England, by the emancipation of such numbers, who, thus freed from servitude and restraint, were swarming about the streets of London, distressed to the greatest

degree. This determined me; I gave him his choice, to go back to Bengal, *free*, or to be placed with some worthy family at St Helena. Finding me resolved not to take him to England, and noticing how happily they lived in the island, he preferred being turned over to a master and mistress who would take care of him, to having his liberty and returning to his native country; and I am satisfied he made the wiser choice.

The Malay slaves, that I observed on the coast of Sumatra, both in the Dutch and English settlements, differ so little from those in the other settlements in the East Indies, that it is unnecessary to say more concerning them, than that their slavery frequently originates in an extravagant spirit of gaming, which induces the father, when he has nothing else to stake, to gamble away the liberty of his children: and hence, I infer, arises that extraordinary kind of madness, so peculiar to the Malays, termed *running a muck*. I believe, the nervous system of a losing gamester is more violently agitated and convulsed by the sense of his losses, than by any other voluntary self-inflicted operation whatever; and, where the paroxysm of the disorder has risen to such a height as to induce the miserable man to hazard his children becoming slaves to another, there is scarcely any other rashness he can be guilty of that need excite surprise: yet the manner in

which he seeks destruction, which I have related in a former part,* is unaccountable.

I have reserved to the last my observations on the treatment of slaves in our West-India plantations, as they only are the real subjects of the abolition-bill; and I conceive the foregoing will not be deemed either foreign or superfluous to the subject, since it may help in some degree to account for the apparent difference in evidence given by gentlemen before the houses of parliament, as well as the contradictory accounts in the public papers. The inhuman and horrid practice of *obtaining* and *conveying* men, women, and children, from their native land, merely because they are black, and therefore reckoned fitter for work in hot climates than Europeans; the original purchase, conducted by fraud, force, and artifice; the transportation and sale of them, in a foreign country, for slaves; altogether present the picture of so diabolical a traffic, that I cannot sufficiently express my surprise at finding there are yet advocates for its continuance, after the inhumanity of the practice has been so ably and justly exposed; for, it is a mockery of justice, as well as an insult to common understanding, to say, that, from motives of humanity, they are removed by compulsion from a worse to a better situation.

* Vol. i. — Chapter XLV. — p. 205.

Let us suppose there were inhabitants of some distant country, as superior to us in strength of arms and understanding as we esteem ourselves to the poor Africans; and, trusting in that strength, let us farther suppose they were to come hither, and, among others, to make free with these advocates for slavery. I imagine these gentry would not be better reconciled to their fate, from being told, by their masters, it was doing them a kindness to carry them from home to live in slavery under people so much *their* superiors; adding, withal, it was likewise *necessary*, or they (their lords and masters) could not enjoy quite so many superfluities; and, I fear, that nothing short of so forcible an argument could or would convince them. For, as Miss H. M. Williams observes in one of her letters from France, (only I substitute the abolition of slavery for the demolition of the Bastile,) “Those, who have contemplated on slavery without rejoicing at the prospect of an abolition, may, for aught I know, be very respectable persons and very agreeable companions in the hour of prosperity; but, if my heart were sinking in anguish, I should not fly to them for consolation.” I believe it is Sterne who says, that a man is incapable of loving one woman as he ought, who has not a sort of an affection for the whole sex. I am of the same opinion, and as little

should I look for *particular* sympathy from those who have no feelings of general philanthropy.

To return, the poor Africans, thus cruelly carried over to the West Indies, are exposed at a public market, frequently at a vendue, (or sale by auction,) and sold like beasts of burden to the highest bidder. A small proportion are selected for domestic uses, and I am willing to allow some of these to be ranked with the slaves in the northern parts of the continent of America, for comfort and even for pleasures, except in case of misconduct, when they are subject to be turned out as field-negroes, which is often the case; under which term, we may comprehend the large bulk of negro-slaves. These may truly be called *miserable* slaves; for, although it may be allowed that in some of the plantations they are treated with humanity, yet those who are treated the best, the very best, among the working field-negroes, it is a cruel lot to suppose any fellow-creature born to, or subjected by the iron hand of power, without having committed an offence. What then must be the deplorable fate of those unhappy wretches who are the property of masters (I am sorry to say mistresses, too) whose hearts are callous to every feeling of humanity towards them? Impressed, from their cradles, with the idea that their slaves are little or nothing superior to the brute creation, they treat them accordingly.

In my youthful days, I remembered to have seen at Savannah-la-Mar, in Jamaica, a Creole lady (as she was called) stand by while one of her negroe-wenchs was so severely flogged, in the public place, by one of her negromen-slaves, that, if a drayman were so to flog his horse in the streets of London, I am persuaded the populace would wrest the whip from his hands and retaliate upon him the injuries of the animal. Yet, so accustomed to these sights and screamings of the poor wretches were the people at Savannah, that they past along unconcerned, until attracted by the greater novelty of a youth like myself interfering, by asking the mistress if she was not ashamed of herself. The good lady then poured forth such a torrent of abuse, plentifully decorated with oaths, as to provoke a retort similar; until, foaming at the mouth like a mad creature, she retreated into her house, cursing me for a "*dom torry orse*, impudent sailor-fellow."

What Mr Jefferson remarks, of the conduct of the master to the slave in Virginia, is equally if not more applicable to the West-India islands. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting haughtiness on the one part and degrading submission on the other. The children see this and learn to imitate it, man being an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him; from his

cradle to his grave, he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive, either in his philanthropy or his self-love, for restraining the intemperance of his passions towards his slave, the presence of his child should always be a sufficient one. The parent storms; the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to his worst passions; and, thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised, in tyranny, can not but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities.

God bless the Duke of C——; I trust he speaks honestly as far as he knows, but his royal highness, as well as some other respectable characters, must excuse me for observing, that their knowledge respecting the *treatment, usage, and mode of living*, of the hard-working field-negroes on the plantations, must necessarily be much confined. The most that these men of high rank have an opportunity of observing is among the household or domestic negroes, where our opinions may partly coalesce. But, admitting that out of curiosity they may have visited many and some of the worst of the (maltreated) negro-plantations, is it not evident, to common sense, that the owners or managers of such plantations would take the greatest care that every thing should appear in its best during such visit. Of course, they see no negro-driver flou-

rishing and cracking his whip over the negroes at work, to try his dexterity in cutting a musquito off any of their backs, merely to amuse himself. Nay, if these visitors condescended to inquire of the poor devils themselves, the wretched beings too well know they dare not pour their sorrows into the ear of any but such as, like myself, (being, at the time I allude to, in too humble a station to attract the notice of their masters,) could observe their customary daily treatment, with their hard scanty subsistence; and, while employed in the long-boat of the ship I belonged to, to fetch off sugars, rums, &c. from various distant plantations, I have frequently entered their huts with familiarity, at night, to give them a spare piece of salt beef or pork. I believe it was a situation as likely as any to obtain information on the subject, free from partiality or prejudice, admitting the observer to have any human affections remaining; and, where a person has had frequent opportunities of observation, it requires no very great abilities to form a tolerable judgement on the subject.

I do not hesitate, therefore, in saying that the traffic of transporting fresh slaves from Africa ought, in common justice, to cease immediately, as it can not be justified on any principle of humanity, expediency, or necessity. So far, then, I again express my surprise that there should be two opinions on the subject, among men who

are not interested in it. The sons of Mammon are out of the question, for they, whether in the semblance of merchants, ship-owners, or planters, will endeavour to justify it under sanction of *their* religion, self-interest!

The great and almost only difficulty, I conceive, is in forming and adopting such a plan, for their gradual emancipation, as will best answer the humane intention of releasing so many thousands of our fellow-creatures from bondage. To do this hastily, to say to them, "Ye are all *free* from this instant," would be nearly as cruel as first enslaving them. If there were only a few hundreds or thousands thinly scattered over the islands, it mattered not how soon it was done; but the liberation of such a multitude, whose numbers far exceed the Europeans, from whom they must (whether freemen or slaves) expect a maintenance for a considerable time to come, would not only be productive of the worst consequences to those Europeans, but equally so to themselves: the excesses, so sudden an intoxication would plunge them into, would be dreadful.

Probably, much better plans than I have to offer, for accomplishing this desirable end, may have been suggested, and I hope they will be adopted; but the following was what I proposed to carry into execution if I had settled in any of the southern states of America, where slaves alone at present perform the work; and from this

I had promised myself no small gratification, in the good I might have done as an individual, and a hope that the example might induce others to do the same when they found it their interest, whatever their principles might be.

Under their present owners, they have not the most distant prospect of gaining their liberty: to purchase such slaves, with a view to afford them an opportunity of working their own redemption, I believe is justifiable. Supposing, then, I had purchased a number of slaves, worth on an average fifty pounds each; on becoming their master, to encourage them in diligence and good behaviour, I would have allowed them one day in each week to work for themselves, allotting a piece of ground to each to work upon; assuring them, that whoever, by their industry and frugality, saved a fifth part of their prime cost, (say ten pounds,) should then be entitled to purchase, with that money, another day to work upon their own account, and so on until they cleared the whole of their time. Possibly, it will appear to some people as requiring a long time for a slave so to emancipate himself, but it is far from being so. A free negro can easily earn half a crown a day, most of them twice as much; a slave is found in the necessaries of life and clothing by his master. We will suppose, then, that he earns no more than half a crown on the day first given to him, calling it Satur-

day, and that he expends one shilling on himself; he then lays by eighteen pence a week. Trifling as this may appear, at first view, to the accomplishment of so great an end, it will enable him to make his first purchase, of another day of freedom in the week, in little more than two years and a half. Should he then apply the whole additional earnings to the former eighteen pence, one other year will purchase him another day of liberty, and the heaviest half of his task is then accomplished.

He is now half free, beginning to feel a proportionate consequence, and may probably increase his own enjoyments a little more. Admitting this, in two years or two years and a half more, he may complete the full purchase of his freedom; but if, instead of six years, it even takes them seven, eight, or nine, it is far better for them than if they had their full liberty and freedom at once; and, being the work of their own hands, by favour of their master, it inculcates two good principles; industry, with a true knowledge of its value, from which it is likely to become habitual; and gratitude for their master, whose work they will then be happy to do as free servants. Nor have I much doubt, but the pleasing hope of such liberation, while they are gaining it by degrees, will afford them nearly, if not quite, as much comfort as the final accomplishment. At any rate, the gradual acquire-

ment of it will be the best means to prevent their being madly intoxicated at the completion. They will know the value better, and will have gained such habits of industry and frugality as to insure their future welfare. The owner receives the full value, with an ample interest from the work done for him, exclusive of the high mental gratification of liberating a fellow-creature from slavery.

In the account of my farm in the state of New York, I have mentioned the mode I adopted there for liberating those I purchased, as similar to the foregoing as the difference of climate and country would permit; and the gentleman, with whom I left them upon the farm, engaged to fulfil and pursue the same plan.

I allow that the bulk of the slaves employed in the West-India plantations have the appearance of being but a few degrees above the brute creation; but it is their situation which makes them so. Teach them better by good usage, and stimulate them to industry by sweetening their bitter cup with a cheering prospect of obtaining their liberty, and they will soon exhibit sufficient proof of their capacity to deserve and enjoy it. At our family-devotions, on Sundays, my negroes, whom I called in to attend likewise, could scarcely conceive what was purposed; yet in a short time, from receiving the best instructions in my power, and perceiving, in my address to

the one Almighty God, that they were considered as equal in his eye, according to their deserts, they attended, with earnestness and gratitude, to be better informed of their dependance on his Providence for the comforts of this life, with the hope of a better hereafter. These were circumstances, concerning which their former owners had never given them the smallest idea.

I must acknowledge there was one thing, respecting the negroes in some parts of America, which astonished me much, nor was I ever able to account for it to my own satisfaction; but truth requires it to be mentioned. On the subject of slavery; every feeling heart will naturally sympathise for the parent whose mind, we suppose, must be tortured with agony when he considers his children born to perpetual slavery; yet how shall we account for the very common practice, among the free negroes in America, of preferring to marry *slave*-wenches; by which they make all their children slaves? The fact is so, and the only reason I could learn, or can assign, is that they value not their liberty at the price of their maintenance. But possibly this may arise from the long degradation of their minds, which a more liberal treatment and enlightening education might correct and bring back to a natural sense of parental duties.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Journey to the City of Washington; from New York to South Amboy, by water; French Invalids; to Burlington, by land; to Philadelphia, by water; curious accommodation at the Franklin's Head, at Philadelphia; set off for Baltimore; travelling-expenses, treatment, and remarks, on the road; Baltimore, price of provision in 1796; set off for George-town; remarks on the road, and in passing through the new city.



BEFORE I finally quitted America, I took my wife purposely to see the then much-talked-of new city of Washington. This was in 1796, and I well remember reading a paragraph in an English newspaper, but a few days before we began our journey, wherein it was asserted, that this new city was making such rapid progress that there were already upwards of 7000 houses built and inhabited, with a proportionate number erecting to answer the great demand for more. I beg this may be borne in remembrance, when I state the plain matter of fact as we found the new city. I will give a cursory account of the journey, to enable the reader to judge of the

mode of travelling along the most frequented public roads in America.

To diversify our journey, we took the packet from New York to Amboy, the distance thirty miles. We sailed from New York at two o'clock in the afternoon, and reached Amboy at seven in the evening. The packet-boats are commodious, and the sailing would have been pleasant, but for thirty-five French passengers, (chiefly invalid soldiers and sailors,) who were taken in from the hospital on an island, upon our passage, when we had no remedy.

There is but one house at South Amboy which they call a tavern: two rooms were allotted to the French, who, in the true spirit of equality, eat and slept all together; men and officers, with their women, spreading their blankets on the floor. There were fourteen of us, exclusive of the French. We were fortunate in obtaining coffee, toast, and fried veal, for supper; and, by bribing the house-servant, I secured a bed in a closet for my wife and myself; we, therefore, could find no reason to complain, while the poor maimed invalids seemed so merry and happy with their harder lot. For our passage, supper, and lodgings, I paid two dollars and a half.

At four the next morning, we set off in a coachee-waggon, something like our English vans, without springs, a wooden top, and leather curtains on the sides. Our breakfast at Cran-

bury, with the coachee-fare to Burlington, distance fifty miles, was no more than five dollars. Dining at Burlington, we were glad to catch at any thing and wait on ourselves for half a dollar each. Fortunately, a packet was ready soon after we had dined, when we had a delightful sail down the Delaware to Philadelphia, where we arrived at eight in the evening, paying half a dollar for our passage, the distance twenty miles.

The master of the George-inn (who knew me) not being in the way, I was told the house was full; and the porter, who brought up part of our luggage, saying he could take us to another inn, where we should be *genteelly* entertained, we were induced to follow him to the New Franklin's-head Inn, and were shewn into a dungeon-like back room, over which was our bed-room. After a moderate supper, I ordered a bottle of madeira as the best and cleanest refreshment, and then retired to a most miserable bed, infested with dirt and vermin, and in the morning found no less than three mice drowned in the urinal. Our accommodation on the road was bad enough, but here it was execrable. In the morning, we obtained a decent breakfast, and for the whole of my entertainment I paid five dollars and ten cents. Shifting our quarters as quick as possible, we were decently accommodated at Mr. Hardy's, (whom I had formerly known in England,) during the time we staid in Philadelphia.

We paid our respects to the President and Mrs Washington, and attended some interesting debates in congress, where I again experienced politeness from several members, particularly from Mr Bourne, of Rhode-island. During our stay, the time passed briskly and pleasantly; we visited the theatre, museum, &c. not omitting the prison.

We then set off in the mail for Baltimore, at eleven in the forenoon, passed through Chester, fifteen miles from Philadelphia; and, crossing the Brandiwine, on which are a number of good corn-mills, stopped to dine at Wilmington, in the State of Delaware, thirteen miles from Chester. We were seven in number, and had a small piece of roast beef, and two fowls so very old we could not eat them, without a morsel of vegetables, for which we were charged five shillings and sixpence, or fifty-seven cents, each, besides liquor; the landlord treating us with arrogance nearly amounting to insolence, observing we were more obliged to him than he was to us.

Four miles from Wilmington, we passed through Newport, a small village, with sloop-navigation, in a low swampy situation. Sixteen miles farther brought us to the Head of Elk, about eight at night. The land, from Philadelphia to the Head of Elk, is in general a poor hungry soil, except some grass land near the river, which I was informed sells from thirty to

sixty pounds an acre. We paid for our supper, (tea, coffee, and fried veal,) with lodgings, one dollar and a half.

We set off at four the next morning, travelling some times over tilly and at other times swampy, but all extremely poor, land, through Charlston to the Susquehana. Crossing over to Havre-de-Grace, we breakfasted at half a dollar each. From Havre, the land is much better, growing good strong timber; continuing so until we came near Bush, twelve miles from Havre. From this place, we passed over several rugged hills, abounding with iron ore and having some intervals of tolerable land, until we drew near Baltimore, where the soil is one entire scrub oak-barren.

The fare in the mail-coachee, from Philadelphia, was eight dollars each, the distance ninety miles. Some of these coachees are tolerably convenient for warm climates, but there is a material difference in them. The best are like covered waggons, shaped a little and painted to look like a coach, having double curtains of leather and woollen, to furl or let down at pleasure. Some are hung on springs and travel easily, others quite the reverse. They have more or fewer benches, according to the number of passengers they engage to carry. M. Brissot compliments them, in comparison to the cumbersome heavy diligences in France; and he might have added, that they are as much beneath the stage-coaches,

&c. of England, as they exceed those of France. Their horses, indeed, are not to be exceeded, hardly equalled, by any country, for hardy stage-travelling, and they are very ill treated. Brissot likewise admired the equalizing and fraternizing custom of tradesmen and members of congress riding together in these carriages. He might have improved the picture, by saying that you have as equal a chance, at least, of being seated by the side of a negro as a member of congress, there being no outside-passengers.

The price of provisions, in Baltimore-market, in the month of May, 1796, was thus: beef and mutton, sixteen pence; veal, nine pence; butter, half a dollar; cheese, eighteen pence; per lb. Maryland currency; fowls, half a dollar each.

We stopped a few days at Baltimore, to see some friends, and then set off in the mail-coach, at six in the morning, for George-town; the fare, four dollars each. The first seven miles, until we came to Patapsco-ferry, was a clayey soil, over uncultivated hills. At Elkridge, the land improves all the way to Spurrier's, a substantial farmer and tavern-keeper, where we had a comfortable clean breakfast for forty cents each.

Five miles farther brought us to the Patuxent, where, near the river-side, I noticed some of the best land on this road. From Spurrier's to Bla-

denburgh, where we dined, the distance is twenty-one miles; the soil in general either a cold clay or a sand, with a few interval bottoms of tolerable land. Bladenburgh is a neat town, situated at the head of the east branch of the Patowmac, four miles above ship-navigation.

From Bladenburgh to George-town is eight miles, where you travel most of the way through the new city. When we first entered this city, we were shewn (by the Citizen Driver) one or two of the main streets. These were long wide avenues, cut through woods and across fields, without a house to be seen; until, travelling on a few miles, we saw a few new-built brick houses, in various directions; some of them a quarter of a mile and others half a mile distant from each other, which, with intervening woods and fields of grass or grain, had an appearance of pleasant farm-houses.

Continuing thus, for a mile or more, we came to the capitol, an intended building, of which one wing only was about one-third erected; promising, when the whole should be completed, to be a noble edifice. The hotel soon came in view, a handsome large house, then just covered in, built to ensure accommodations for the members of congress; the money for it was raised by public auction. Still keeping on for George-town, at the distance of a mile or more from the capitol, we passed the President's intended

house; and, except half a dozen houses, that were covering in, and the foundations of six more level with the ground, there really was nothing to be seen that had the smallest appearance of forming a street.

At George-town, which is close adjoining the City of Washington, we were set down at a large new inn, built on speculation for the purpose of entertaining visitors and others coming to view the new city. We stopped here a few days before we passed the Patowmac-river into Virginia, and met with more attention from the landlord of this house than from any other during the whole journey, and he found his account in it. When travelling by myself, and in pursuit of some particular object, I did not regard difficulties; but, with a female companion, as a tour of pleasure, it was different.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Remarks and observations on the City of Washington.

WE took several circuitous walks and rides, to note all that was to be seen of Washington-city, containing little besides open fields and large woods, with avenues cut through them, of miles in length, to shew where the streets were intended to be.

The situation is pleasant and I conceive healthy. The Patowmac (between two branches of which the intended city is situated) is most certainly a grand river, having a clear inland ship-navigation of 200 miles from the sea to this city; yet, in my humble judgement of these great undertakings, I doubt whether they have not commenced at the wrong end. A place, that is first established by trade and commerce, may swell gradually or rapidly to a large city; but I doubt how far the building a city to force commerce, between two well-established powerful rivals, in a free country, will be likely to succeed. Neither Baltimore, in Maryland, nor Alexandria, in Virginia, seem to apprehend the

smallest diminution of their trade, but were building and increasing faster than ever; while, respecting this intended city, I question much whether there ever will be a sufficient number of houses built to entitle it to the name of a great city. It is true, the public buildings are erecting on a grand scale, possibly too much so for so young a country. A century hence, should the union of the states continue so long, they might correspond; at present, they do not. It is to be remembered that these remarks were made on the spot, in 1796.

The President's house is 180 feet in front and 88 deep, built of free-stone of an excellent quality. Not more than a fourth part is built; but, when finished, it promises to be an elegant building. The capitol, building with the same materials, is 380 feet in front, by 120 in depth; of which one wing only is just raised high enough for the first scaffolding. But few men were at work either at the public or private buildings, and several of them told me they could get more work than money. Brick-making was the principal business going forward; and for this purpose, the whole body of earth that I examined (where they had dug for cellars) seems well adapted, and the well-water good.

If any part of the whole might be said to have the appearance of a town, or rather a village, it is at the eastern point, nearly three miles from

the President's, and where Mr Law and Mr Duncason, two gentlemen of fortune, from India, were the only individuals actually engaged in building private houses. The workmen told me, that these gentlemen were the only people whom they could depend on for money; one or two others, that had begun, having left off. Here, again, (as I have before observed respecting the usual mistake of Englishmen,) I fear these gentlemen will find, to their cost, that they have calculated on English ideas, unnecessarily magnified by Eastern habits.

In this part of the city, there are four or five groupes of houses, of four or six in a groupe, at no great distance from each other, in different stages of finishing, with but few that are inhabited; and, reckoning up all the houses I could see or hear of, as belonging to the new City of Washington, they did not amount to eighty. I was the more particular in remarking this, from the extravagant false accounts that had been sent to and published in the London papers, as before mentioned. Had they described them as house-lots, it might have passed, but would not have answered their purpose, as it was these lots, to build houses on, that they wished to sell by such puffs of the rapid progress which the new city was making.

Bad as I apprehend it is, and will turn out to be, to the purchasing speculators, it has proved

of great advantage to the old proprietors of the land. When congress first determined to build a federal city, General Washington was desired to fix on the most eligible spot. He chose the present, the land of which was not then worth more than five pounds an acre, Maryland money. Treating with the proprietors, it was agreed that all the streets, avenues, squares, grounds for public buildings and uses, should be paid for at twenty-five pounds an acre: the remainder of their respective lands to be divided into equal lots; one-half to be sold for the benefit of the public, by commissioners, the other at the disposal of the original proprietor.

On an average, an acre of ground is now estimated at 1500*l.*; and a Mr B——, whose estate of nearly 500 acres was not worth more than 3000*l.* (more than which he was said to owe,) has hereby realized a property of 80,000*l.*

Having seen and examined every thing, and gained all the information I could concerning this so-much-talked-of city, I sate down between the President's house and the capitol, and entered the following in my minute-book, as my opinion, viz.

“Should the public buildings be completed, and enterprizing individuals risk considerably in building houses; should the Union of the States continue undisturbed; should congress assemble for a number of years, until the national bank

and other public offices necessarily draw the monied interests to it; the City of Washington, in the course of a century, may form a focus of attraction to mercantile and trading people, sufficient to make it a beautiful commercial city, deserving the name of its founder; but I apprehend so many hazards as to be most unwilling to venture any part of my property in the undertaking."

The price of provisions at George-town is much the same as at Baltimore. The good people in this town, as well as every other sea-port I was at on the continent of North America, are remarkably fond of dress. At one chapel in George-town, I noticed presbyterian service performed in the morning and episcopal in the afternoon.

On our return from a short excursion in Virginia, back through George-town and Washington-city, I was informed that congress had guaranteed a loan, to enable them to go on with the public buildings, which renovated the hopes of the speculators. But I did then, and do still, recommend emigrants and foreign speculators to be on their guard against the delusive flattering accounts that for many years will be spread abroad.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Return to Baltimore; hospitality of Mr and Mrs Snowden; cross the Chesapeake to French-town; distressed French families; to Newcastle, by land; Citizen Darrogh, the tavern-keeper; packet for Philadelphia; remarks on sailing up the Delaware.



WE returned to Baltimore the same way we came, with nothing worthy of remark but the politeness of a Mrs Snowden, whose house stood some little distance from the road. Expecting a lady of her acquaintance to be passing that day, she with her sister had walked down to meet the coach, ordering her servants to bring wine, brandy, water, &c. to refresh all that would accept. I was also informed that Mr Snowden frequently took opportunities of pressing travellers to stop and accept the entertainment of his hospitable mansion.

Before the revolution, instances of this kind were frequent through America; but, now, it seems as if equalizing liberty had banished the liberal hospitality that North America was so famed for before the war. Every drop, in the

bumper which I drank to the health of Mr and Mrs Snowden, gave strength to my recollection of the social, happy, hospitable, times I had formerly experienced in this country, long before the revolution.

From Baltimore, we took the water-route to Philadelphia, in a commodious packet-boat, as far as French-town. We left Baltimore at nine in the morning, and had a delightful sail across and up to the head of the Chesapeake; thence up a river to French-town. This place is seventy miles from Baltimore, and, like South Amboy, has but one house, and that is a tavern. There were several French families in the packet, all of whom had seen better days. They were required (*ordered*) to return to their respective homes, as the only way allowed to prove their patriotism, or to abide the consequence: ships were provided in Philadelphia to receive them. My heart bled to hear the distresses which some of their women and children had already endured, and the dread of those which they were still likely to go through; but, except some trifling civilities, our good wishes were all we could afford them: yet these little attentions were heart-soothing, as their eyes frequently expressed.

It was five in the evening when we landed; three coaches were provided, and we set off for Newcastle, in the State of Delaware. The stage

was eighteen miles, over a level country, with a few gently-sloping hills. The timber-trees were pretty large, which, with a mellow-looking loam, indicated good land.

Between ten and eleven, we were driven to the tavern of a Mr Darrogh, who, considering us fair prey, would not allow any to be shewn to a bed, until, after waiting two hours for tea, coffee, toast, and fried veal, our host was enabled to make his charge for suppers. With a little bribing interest, I then procured a pair of clean sheets; and, making our own bed, we were glad to turn into a dirty cabin-like closet, on the ground-floor.

In the morning, the French families naturally wished to breakfast in a separate room; the American travellers, with ourselves, the same. In vain were applications made, by both parties, to be indulged with two breakfast-tables: Citizen Darrogh told us plainly, that, if we did not like to breakfast together, one party might wait until the other had done. Finding entreaties were useless, I sallied out; and, observing the next house to be a tavern likewise, I returned, paid Mr Darrogh one dollar and a half for our lodging and supper, had our trunks removed; and, making up our party, went to the adjoining house to breakfast. We had the additional satisfaction also of mortifying Mr Darrogh, by ordering an early dinner for all the passengers

who chose to dine, as the packet for Philadelphia did not sail until after one. And I believe we all drank as freely again of milk-punch as we otherwise should, from observing the effect it produced on Citizen Darrogh, who paraded in the street before our window, swearing like a trooper; and, when we good-naturedly drank his health, he became more enraged and vehement.

I omitted mentioning that our passage, from Baltimore to French-town, was one dollar and a half each, paying three-quarters of a dollar more for a dinner on board; but this is optional, as passengers may carry their own provision if they prefer it. The coachee-fare, from French-town to Newcastle, is one dollar and a quarter each.

Newcastle is a neat pretty town, chiefly supported by the shipping, which take in stock, &c. here, somewhat like Gravesend. There is one house in this town, said to be built before Philadelphia was begun. The tide in the Delaware, passing by Newcastle, runs full three knots (or miles) an hour. It seems remarkable that the land, on the Jersey-side of the Delaware, should be so uncultivated, while the Delaware and Pennsylvanian shores opposite are beautiful to the eye, with thickly-settled farm-houses, towns, and villages.

Passing in sight of Wilmington, seven miles from Newcastle, we came to Marker's Hook, a

pleasant fishing-village, than which I do not any where recollect a more engaging rural prospect. A small hut to the southward of Marker's Hook forms the line between Delaware and Pennsylvania. There are some rich grazing-grounds along the shore, defended by sea-banks. We passed Mud-fort, opposite to Red-bank; places full dearly known to the English in the American war. They were building a pier, on the opposite side to Mud-fort, but little more than a quarter of a mile distant, on which was intended to be erected a battery, to guard Philadelphia from attacks by sea; but, if it be not better planned and executed than other forts which I have seen, and that have been erected since the embargo of 1794, it can be of little consequence, as they are not worth the interest of the principal laid out upon them.

CHAPTER XL.

Land at Philadelphia; Doctor Priestly, his farewell sermon; his opinion; he and Mr Russell acknowledge their disappointment, with their reasons for not returning to England; Doctor Perkins; return to New York.



ABOUT seven in the evening, we landed at Philadelphia, paying a dollar each for a very agreeable passage of forty miles.

On the Sunday following, I heard Doctor Priestly, at the meeting of the Universalists. He had previously gone through a course of sermons on the evidences of the Christian religion; at the conclusion of which, he had declared his intention of preaching but this once, as taking his final leave of public preaching. The place was crowded.

The form of worship was thus: he first pronounced a prayer, then read the 139th Psalm and part of the 12th chapter of Mark, after which there was singing. His text was from the 18th, 19th, and 20th, verses of the 17th chapter of the Apostles, considering himself, he observed, nearly in a similar situation. He delivered himself freely and openly as to his faith, declaring

his belief in one God only, and denying the divinity of Christ, though he considered him as sent by God to instruct and save, as were many other great and good men. To relieve himself, he here closed this part of his discourse and gave out a psalm to be sung.

He then entered into his second objection to the generally received doctrine of Christianity, viz. the doctrine of atonement by the death of Christ. Next, he cursorily noticed the absurdity of original sin and eternal damnation; declaring his own belief in a final retribution, by means of adequate punishments, in time reforming the wicked. After the sermon, a psalm was sung, and he then delivered a prayer. At the close of the service, he administered the Lord's Supper, as an acknowledgement or testimony of being Christians, (as philosophers might of being Newtonians,) but not as necessarily obligatory or requiring any serious preparation. In one of his prayers, I noticed a singular expression, viz. in hopes of becoming *citizens* of heaven, which I considered as rather trimming his sails to the wind.

The day following, I called on the Doctor at Mr Russell's, to compare notes respecting America. He said, that nearly all the English emigrants, with whom he had conversed, agreed in acknowledging themselves to be much disappointed; ladies and women in particular. He

mentioned one or two, who were thrown into such deep melancholy as obliged them to be confined. He said, he had seen but little himself, yet believed the complaints to be just; that *he* had no choice but to remain during life; acknowledging himself surprised to find so little appearance of religion in a country where he had been led to expect so much.

Mr Russell not being at home, I promised to breakfast with them the next day, which I did. I had delivered my own opinion very freely respecting America, with the consequent determination of quitting it, when Mr Russell, turning to his son, asked him if it were possible for words to express his own (the father's) opinion and sentiments about America more exactly than those I had used; then, addressing himself to me, he observed, that, having made so considerable a speculative purchase in some lands, he must wait the issue, and as to farming, which he had flattered himself with managing to so much advantage, he had given up every idea.

While I was conversing with Doctor Priestly one morning, we were rather abruptly broken in upon by a Doctor Perkins, a physician from the State of Connecticut. This gentleman had discovered an extraordinary power in certain metallic substances, which would operate to remove and cure most inflammatory topical pains in a speedy manner. He had discovered what produced the

effect, and wished much to engage a gentleman of Doctor Priestly's scientific knowledge to assist in investigating the cause. Conscious of a little intrusion, and anxious to gain his attention, Doctor Perkins made no hesitation (when informed that I was an English gentleman who had been travelling over America in search of knowledge, and was returning to England) to give such information and intelligence as he possessed and was necessary for Doctor Priestly to know. Strong proofs of their salutary powers were produced, one very recent. The day before a man had been struck down with lightening, continuing some time in a state of insensibility until restored by the tractors. Doctor Winchester, the celebrated preacher, having been present, vouched the truth of this and some other cases. Doctor Priestly turning to me, observed, "sir, we are yet children in the knowledge of what effect the electric and magnetic powers may have on the human body."

Being thus accidentally present at the time of investigation, I had an opportunity of learning its principle, which I did not neglect. Of the salutary effect produced thereby, I have witnessed and proved too many instances to have any doubt that the instruments may be beneficially used in many cases, nor am I to be laughed out of what has been evident to my own senses. At the same time, I do not mean to give

countenance to the over-stretched and deceitful accounts which have been published concerning them; farther observing, that they might as well have been sold for so many pieces of silver as they have of gold.

From Philadelphia, we returned to New York by the regular land-stage. The first eight or ten miles, the land is poor and hungry, mending as we approached Bristol. Thence to Trenton, through Penn's Manor, the land is level, lately cleared, and tolerably good, requiring nothing but management to keep it so, otherwise it will soon be worn out. Various pleasant views of the Delaware presented themselves as we passed along; and, driving the coaches and horses into a long ferry-boat, we crossed the river to Trenton, a pretty town, thirty miles from Philadelphia, where we dined at one dollar each.

From Trenton to Prince-town the land is good, distance twelve miles, continuing so until we drew near Rocky-hill, whence, to the ten-mile run, it is bad. Here it improves a little. The road to Brunswick is a red, heavy, barren, earth. Our supper and lodging at Brunswick one dollar each. At four the next morning we crossed the Rariton, over a new-built bridge; then travelled over a red, stone-like, clay, country to Woodbridge, where we paid half a dollar for breakfasts. From this place, we continued our route over a delightful rich country, approaching

and passing through the very pleasant towns of Elizabeth and Newark. Thence, over two bridges crossing the Posaick, and, along a causeway three miles and a half in length, we alighted at Powl's Hook, and, ferrying over the North-river in boats, we landed at New York at noon.

The roads in general, as to repair, (particularly through the Jerseys,) are left to Providence, having little or nothing done to them. In wet weather, they are, consequently, very bad, and in dry weather intolerably dusty. The fare from Philadelphia to New York, by the mail, is eight dollars; by the other coaches, six dollars; the distance ninety-six miles.

CHAPTER XLI.

On the American government.



I CANNOT well quit America without giving my opinion of its government. The liberty of the people, the goodness of their laws, and the freedom of their government, are their boast.

The goodness of their laws, I allow, how should they be otherwise, having selected them chiefly

from the English laws? But there is not sufficient energy and strength, in the executive branches of government, to carry those laws into execution, whenever the people, in their mob-wisdom, think proper to direct otherwise. The liberty of the people, therefore, degenerates into licentiousness and destroys the freedom of their government. Pope says, that is the best government where the laws are best administered; I think the same, and, according to this doctrine, the government of America is moderate indeed: for, of what benefit is it to a starving man to be told, there is plenty of good provision in the house, if he can get none? It is just so in America. I have seen at Baltimore, I have seen at New York, I have seen at Rhode-island, where, in front of the governing-powers, the multitude have risen in open defiance of the laws. I have known some of the first native inhabitants and merchants threatened, by the lawless leader of a mob, with an introduction of the guillotine, should they continue to say any thing in favour of the British nation. I have seen a notoriously-despised worthless fellow, without the least shadow of authority, assemble a number of people together, go on board an English schooner, that put into the port from stress of weather at the time the embargo was laid, (bound from Nova Scotia to New York, with passengers,) run her on shore, and unbend

her sails to prevent the completion of her voyage ; notwithstanding the proper officers of the port had consented to her proceeding to New York, upon the captain's giving the necessary security, which he was ready to do. The consequence was, that the passengers left the vessel without paying him, and the poor man had no redress. This man (Captain Jack Wanton, as they stiled him) and his associates thus set the laws at defiance, and no notice was taken of the outrage.

When the law sleeps, whether through fear or indifference, it is the same thing to the suffering party. At present, the higher order of people in America (and it is absurd to suppose there are not higher orders in every country) are too feeble to give energy to the laws. The tarring and feathering, exhibited at the time I am speaking of, at Savannah, in Georgia, at Norfolk, in Virginia, and Baltimore, in Maryland, too clearly evince the weakness of the laws for the protection of persons, and it is a mockery of words to talk of liberty without protection. I sincerely hope, that time will meliorate and improve the government of America to true genuine liberty, without licentiousness, and that the laws will be sufficiently energetic to protect persons and property from insult and outrage. At present, it is the reverse.

CHAPTER XLII.

Quit America; arrive in Ireland; packet to Bristol; engage a house for the winter.



QUITTING America, I crossed the Atlantic for the fourteenth time, and arrived in Ireland with that part of my family I had taken over to America, the rest having remained in England for education. Making but a short stay there, I took the packet for Bristol, where I engaged a house for the ensuing winter.

I was sound in health, but something the worse for more than half a century's hard struggles to obtain a permanent abode. The prospect before me was gloomy enough, as relating to my young family; nor could I well determine what farther measures it were best to pursue, to enable me to put them into some eligible way of life.

Had it been for ourselves, or with the addition of one or two children only, we could have been well satisfied to retire (after such fruitless attempts to mend our circumstances) to the humblest privacy, rich in content and happy within ourselves. But duties, paramount to selfish considerations of ease, would not, did not, allow our

own personal quiet to be consulted in opposition to our children's welfare. The past struggles required a little rest, and the new ones that might yet occur demanded serious consideration. I resolved, therefore, not to engage positively in any thing under three months. Although I imposed this irksome task of rest on myself, as to pursuing any employ for my own future establishment, I was not idle in seeking immediate employ for my two eldest boys, to whom I had given the best education in my power. They were now ready for launching into the wide ocean of life, but I had neither spare sails nor oars to give them for assistance.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Liberality of the whole court of the East-India Directors; disinterestedness of their appointments; generous appointment by an individual Director.

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GOING to London, I was there advised to make interest with some Director of the East-India company for an appointment for the oldest of my sons, who was near seventeen. I

know not how to account for it; I want not what is commonly called courage, nor am I reckoned over bashful, yet never could I bend to dance attendance and solicit individuals for their private patronage, with a tenth part of the freedom and earnestness I can a public body, on whom I conceive I have any kind of claim. A thought struck me and I pursued it; this was, to address by a petition the whole court of Directors, stating a few leading circumstances in my life, and grounding my principal claim to their notice on my former suffering services in their employ.

Wholly unacquainted as I was with the chairman, I waited upon him at his house. I frankly told him, I was an old officer come to solicit his attention, for three minutes, to the petition I handed him. With a heart-soothing benevolent air, he desired me to be seated; observing, that, if a much longer time could be of any service, he would cheerfully devote it to me. Reading it with attention, he kept that and kindly directed me to take another copy to the deputy-chairman, making use of his name as an introduction. I did so, and my memory will never lose sight of the generous sympathy that beamed on his countenance as he perused and re-perused the contents. He said but little, and that not flattering me with any great hopes of success; but it was delivered in so mild and gentle a manner, that I

departed with as much gratitude in my heart as if I had really obtained the boon I was soliciting. Such is the easy power of pleasing, to those whose hearts are nicely tuned to benevolence.

On mentioning the step I had taken, I was told by many that it never would succeed, the court having long since resolved not to attend to any such *public* applications; but the hearts of these people were too cold to distinguish the difference in the kinds of public application.

I returned to Bristol with a confidence of success, which I had no real ground for from any thing that had been said to me. The first post, after the meeting of the court of directors to make their military appointments for India, brought me a letter from the chairman himself, most kindly informing me, that the whole court, having taken into consideration my petition, had made an extra appointment in favour of my son, to go out as a cadet on the Bengal establishment; and I understood afterwards, that every director present voted it with a ready generous sympathy. How much more satisfactory and honourable to the feelings of an old officer was this appointment, than to obtain it by private patronage, I leave to those considerate minds who can appreciate the difference.

Paying compliments to one at the expense of others is not what I am accustomed to do, yet I can not deny myself the gratification of de-

claring, that there is no military service in the world, which has fallen within my observation, (and I have seen many,) to be compared to that of the East-India company, for the disinterestedness of the appointments, free from purchase at the first, with the certainty of regular preferment by seniority after appointment, provided any demerits of the party, by sentence of a court-martial, do not justify his supersession or dismissal. Such, indeed, is the excellence of this service, that the governor-general cannot promote his nearest relation or friend over the head of another officer, whose commission is a day older.

I have another strong instance to adduce of the disinterestedness of their appointments. My second boy was as desirous of going into the sea-service as his elder brother was the land. My former acquaintance in that line had been very numerous; but, after a retirement of more than twenty years, I could find but two, out of nearly as many hundred, to whom I could apply to procure my boy a birth on board an East-India ship. The one, Captain Ralph Dundas, (who has since paid his last debt to Nature,) was so ill at Bath, it was with extreme difficulty he could write an answer to lament his inability from his present situation. The other, Captain P. Broomfield, (likewise since dead,) advised me by all means to endeavour at procuring him an

appointment in the Bombay-marine, as the best sea-service he knew for any young man who had not great strength of interest or good property; and that he would then be equally provided for with his brother, and rise by seniority in like manner. This was certainly most desirable for me to obtain, but I could not with any propriety think of applying to the court again. What little interest I formerly had with individuals was, like that with my friends and acquaintance in the sea-service, nearly extinguished. The number of appointments for the season were few, and I had not the smallest glimmering prospect of success, but by applying to the private individual patronage of one of those gentlemen who had already so considerably attended to my public claim.

I considered for several days before I could bring my mind to the determination of intruding again on gentlemen, to whom I was a perfect stranger, otherwise than as my former memorial had made me known to them; but what will not necessity, in the cause of our children's welfare, urge us to? I had trodden my former ground to their houses with humble confidence, I now retraced the same steps with much timidity.

Mr Inglis (now Sir Hugh) generously said he would bear it in remembrance when the appointments were made, but it was uncertain. I soon learned that there would be but twelve that sea-

son; and, well knowing the number of applications there would be for them, aided by great strength of interested recommendations, I scarcely dared to hope. Soon after this, Mr Inglis was confined by a dangerous illness, which prevented any farther intrusive inquiry, until the time for the ships departure made it absolutely necessary.

I was received by Mrs Inglis with a flattering courtesy, that much enhanced the value of her information, "that Mr Inglis had reserved his appointment for my son." Is it possible to suppose a more disinterested application of his patronage? thus bestowing it upon the son of an old officer of the Company, who had no other interest with him than his former services and struggles to maintain a large family against a train of unusual adversities, in preference to the many applications he must have had to give it to others, whose friends might have it in their power to oblige him in return. Long may the Court of Directors of the Honourable East-India Company be thus nobly and disinterestedly filled, and may they individually, as well as collectively, enjoy the heart-comforting pleasure of doing good as long as they live!

## CHAPTER XLIV.

*Reasons for not engaging again in farming; plan for an agricultural academy.*



My heart was still whole; and, having succeeded beyond expectation in procuring appointments for my two oldest boys, as before related, my spirits grew light; but, as age advanced, in addition to broken bones badly spliced, I found my activity slacken and a greater necessity of securing some home-stall, however humble.

Having pursued agriculture, both in study and practice, long enough for it to become a favourite employment, I should certainly have preferred a continuance in the same pursuit to any other, if I could have met with a farm which might have afforded some tolerable prospect of benefit; but the extravagant high price of provision having raised the rents of farms beyond any thing I could fairly calculate on for a continuance, I own I was fearful of engaging or taking a farm on such high advances of rent as were every where required. However, before I finally determined to give agricultural employ up entirely, I resolved to make application to some

few gentlemen, to see if I was likely to obtain encouragement for instituting an agricultural academy. I had long considered that such an institution would be desirable to many gentlemen of property, who might wish to obtain for their sons a suitable knowledge of farming their own estates, or at least qualify them to be their own stewards, and thus fix their sons where they might receive the necessary instruction, without risk of contamination from men of coarse habits; the general run of real farmers being too illiterate and harsh in their manners to think of placing a young man of education with, and few gentlemen-farmers would like the trouble and care that is necessary to do them justice. I conceived, therefore, that, if a gentleman of character, of general knowledge of men and manners, with a studied practical experience of farming, would so far devote himself as to make it a business, it would not only be advantageous to his pupils, in their acquirements of such knowledge, but be the happy means of forming habits of industry at a dangerous time of life, (from sixteen to twenty-one,) when, from a want of such employ, as might be made highly entertaining as well as instructive, young men are too apt to contract idle habits and plunge into excesses.

I thought myself competent to conduct an undertaking of this kind, but two difficulties occurred; to be fully assured of a sufficient



number of pupils first, before I risked the hiring of a farm, at so high a rent as would not support itself without such pupils; and to meet with a suitable farm, house, &c. at so reasonable a rent, that, either with or without pupils, I might be able to make it answer as a farm. These intentions I made known to several intelligent gentlemen, who much approved the design. Among them was Mr Matthews, secretary to the Bath Agricultural Society, who said, he had long thought such an institution desirable, and likely to benefit the public as well as the individuals thus educated. Mr S. More, secretary to the the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c. was likewise of the same opinion; but they all apprehended I should find it very difficult to meet with a suitable farm without an extravagant rent, and equally, if not more so, to obtain pupils before I had a farm. I wrote also to the Board of Agriculture, from whom I received a polite acknowledgement of my communications respecting an agricultural academy, and my observations on the husbandry of North America.

I soon found, that, without very persevering close applications, and of a nature that I could not bend to, I had no chance of advancing: not but I am persuaded there are noblemen, gentlemen, and ladies, who, from a beneficent desire to encourage an undertaking so likely to be useful, would forego some advantage in point of rent,

and cheerfully patronise it by granting a suitable farm on moderate terms. I was not fortunate enough to meet with one, therefore relinquished the pursuit; but, supposing I had met with a suitable situation, and procured my pupils, I proposed to farm one-half the farm in the best regular course of crops, suited to soil and circumstances; and under such management as to tillage, by various instruments in husbandry, use of oxen and horses, as, from the best knowledge to be acquired of farming, might appear most profitable. One-quarter of the farm to have been applied to such experimental crops, new-invented machinery, and well-recommended recent improvements, practised by others, as might be thought advisable from time to time; the other quarter would have been devoted to any new improvements, contrivances, and experiments, of our own.

It is not probable that I shall ever undertake the superintendence of an agricultural academy; yet, as it may assist others to carry such a plan into execution, who may be more fortunate in overcoming the first difficulties, the following hints for organizing such an academy may possibly be of some utility.

In the formation of my agricultural institution, I would consider my pupils as a young community, just entering into busy life, where they

were to learn how to provide and take care for themselves; at the same time experiencing, by their own community, the great advantages arising from the association of numbers, bound by laws of their own assent. I would set forth the necessity there is for every man (let his circumstances be what they may) to learn some employ that is useful in itself, healthful to mind and body, and conducive to the acquirement of property, where it is wanted, or preserving and improving that which has already been acquired. That, among the various employments in life, none are more useful, necessary, healthy, or certain, than farming; yet, notwithstanding its appearance of simplicity and ease, to an indifferent observer, it requires considerable attention, observation, study, and practice, in order to acquire the knowledge of directing and managing a farm to the best advantage. That, for want of this knowledge, one man shall toil and labour all his life without advancing a step, while another, by being well-informed at first, shall with ease and pleasure to himself improve his farm and circumstances.

In addition to such preparatory introduction, I would take my pupils to fields of various soils and different states of improvement, for regular courses of crops, informing them how much greater analogy there is between the vegetable and animal systems than is in general thought

of; shewing that various soils, like different kinds of animals, require distinct and various kinds of food (manure) to put them into the greatest strength of vegetation, some wanting more rest and others more cleaning; that the best land, as well as the best animal, may be tired and worn out with continued hard labour.

With these and other observations to prepare the mind, we might proceed to fields exhausted by a course of crops, and from bad management out of condition for farther cropping, until recruited by the kindly assistance of the plough and harrows in making a good fallow. In the various operations of the plough, harrows, and rollers, they should attend, or *rather assist*, until they knew whether the work was well performed, and how to give their own directions in future. Particular notice should be taken, if any part or the whole of such fields wanted draining, as no crop whatever exhausts and impoverishes land so much as its lying in a wet sodden state.

If scouring the outside ditches is not sufficient, they should be taught where and how to make under-drains, or land-ditches, in order to cure the squally wet parts. Then, according to the natural strength of the soil and the crop which is first intended to be sown, they should learn what species of manure is best suited to this or that soil, and whether it should be applied direct or to some after crop.

The kind of fencing best adapted to the farm, and the care of hedge-row timber, would come under consideration, while fallowing each enclosure. From the fallow, I will suppose the following course of crops; viz. turnips, or rape-seed, the same summer, (the land being fresh manured,) and fed off; sown with barley or oats in the spring following, and laid down with clover or clover and grass seeds. If clover only, to be sown with wheat after the first year's clover; and, where the land is strong and in good heart, the next year might be planted with beans or some other meliorating crop, to be kept clean by frequent hoeings, which would then afford another fair crop of wheat. But if, when with barley, the field is laid down with clover and grass seeds for a longer continuance as a lay, it should be again manured for the second year's clover, &c. and, when ploughed up, to be planted with pease, beans, &c. and then sown with wheat.

In this routine of crops, (or any other that may better suit the soil and circumstances,) a great variety of useful instruction would naturally arise, affording abundant matter for lectures on every part of tillage-agriculture, such as fair experiments of the use of oxen and horses, as to profit; the broad-cast, drilling, and dibbling, systems; horse-hoeing and hand-hoeing; hay-making in fine weather, and preserving it in bad;

harvesting the different kinds of seed and grain, with the greatest security; management in the barn and granary, and thence sending the corn to market; breeding of sheep and cattle, suckling of calves, fattening different kinds of stock, in the speediest and cheapest way, with the best management for raising the greatest quantity of rich manure; irrigation and flooding of meadows, or watering them where they cannot be flooded; planting and assisting the growth of trees, and raising living fences. With abundant inferior matter of management and information, beneficial and necessary for the pupils to be made well acquainted with, before they undertake to farm for themselves.

Youth is the season for enjoyment as well as improvement. I would therefore recommend rural sports and exercises without doors, and rational amusements within, to occupy and improve their leisure-time: thus making home the most agreeable place to them, and giving a bias towards domestic comforts and enjoyments, that might probably continue through life.

General laws and regulations, applicable to the institution, should be subscribed to; any breach of which, or other misconduct, to be tried among themselves, as a court of honour.

An institution of this nature would be a national benefit as to experiments; but, as there are difficulties to be overcome, in the *hiring* of

a farm intended for a permanent school for agricultural experiments, as well as for the tuition of individuals, I think that something like the following plan, for a permanent establishment of the kind, might be accomplished with less difficulty and greater advantage, if patronized by the recommendation of agricultural societies, and the friends of such an institution to purchase a suitable estate. I will suppose from ten to twenty thousand pounds necessary for the purchase, &c. A subscription opened and recommended as above, to be subscribed for in shares of one hundred pounds each, bearing at first an interest of only three per cent. on each share; the whole to be secured by the estate, and these shares to be transferable by sale or otherwise. Trustees to be appointed, with power to grant a lease, &c. to such person who may be chosen, at a general meeting of the subscribers, to conduct and manage the institution, under such covenants and regulations as may have been previously determined on by a committee. For which possession of the farm, the person so chosen, as master of the agricultural academy, should pay a net penny-rent, equal to the amount of such interest.

Any society, proprietor, or proprietors, that shall have subscribed for or possess ten shares, shall have a right to direct any course of experiments upon ten acres of the farm, by applying

to the committee for an order to the tenant. The committee to inquire, judge, and determine, whether such proposed experiment is likely to be attended with any loss to the tenant, and allow for such loss out of the interest due to those ten shares.

When, by such continued improvement of the estate as naturally will arise at the end of every lease, the estate shall be considered to have risen in value, sufficient to allow of an increased rent, the interest may be gradually raised until it pays five per cent. but no more. Any farther increase of value to be applied, as the committee may direct, for such purposes as are most likely to benefit the institution.

This is a theme I could continue to some length; but, as it may not be so pleasing to others, I will now drop the theory as I have been obliged to do the practice.



## CHAPTER XLV.

*Advice given to my sons on their embarkation for  
the East Indies.*



SEEING little or no prospect of engaging myself in any profitable employ, without considerable risk, I deemed it most prudent to be quiet and wait patiently for what chance might turn up; but care, old care, whom I had been accustomed, while young, to set at defiance, began now to exercise his power with tyrannic sway. However, the fortunate and happy provision I had made for two of my sons tended much to smooth my brow.

The following advice and instructions, which I gave them on embarking for India, may possibly be of use to other youths, whose destination may be the same. I judge so, from having been requested by some parents, who had read them, to take a copy of such parts as suited their sons, when going to India.

“ My dear son,

“ You are now embarking on the wide ocean of life, the happiness or miseries of which will much depend on your own manage-

ment, care, inspection, and fortitude. I have endeavoured to do my duty as a parent, by giving you an education far beyond what my shattered circumstances could prudently afford. Of my affectionate care, from infancy to the present period, I need not remind you, were it not to shew, that, in the government of your conduct through life, you may see the obligations you are under to perform acts of reciprocal kindness to others.

“ Your first, most constant, and never-ceasing, duty is to that *Being* who created and gave us life, certainly for some more especial purpose than merely to eat, drink, sleep, or waste our time in idle gratifications. The various and discordant opinions of mankind respecting the Almighty, their different modes of faith concerning his divinity, and conjectures relative to the present and ultimate designs of his Providence towards mankind, have caused greater animosities, provoked more quarrels, and occasioned a greater effusion of human blood, attended with diabolical cruelties, than any other cause that I know of. To avoid such evil consequences, in this world, is of itself a matter of sufficient concern for a wise man seriously to consider the subject; coolly and carefully examining, reasoning, and determining, for himself, upon the nature of his own obligations to that *Being*; what may rationally be the designs of his

Providence, in creating and sending him into this world; the consequent duties that belong to him through life, with the probability of his enjoying a much happier state in another world, according to a faithful discharge of those duties; or, by a wilful neglect of them, and the commission of actions which his conscience (a faithful monitor in the breast of every man) tells him are wrong, to subject himself to a deserved punishment of a more miserable existence, where possibly he may have to work his redemption by a better conduct.

“ I am far, my dear son, from asserting that *this*, or any one other of the many religious opinions concerning the future dispensations of Providence, is precisely correct; but, if every man were to make up his own mind according to the best of his knowledge and information, and then act up to what he thinks is right, without disturbing others for holding a different opinion, he could scarcely err.

“ It was about your time of life that I determined to reason, think, and judge, for myself in matters of religion, or my duty towards God, the world, and myself. My opportunities since, for forming a more matured judgement, by observations among so many different nations and various modes of faith, have all tended to confirm me in an opinion, originating in a comparison of the early prejudices I had imbibed, with

the many I saw around me, *that the religion of a good man can not be bad.*

“I conceive it next to impossible for any rational being to persuade himself into a disbelief of a God, or superintending Providence; who, from the works of his creation all around us, our own perceptions, and reasoning faculties, we must conclude is *all-powerful, all-wise, and beneficent.* Thus far, he has bestowed upon all mankind the power to read and understand him: concerning these plain, strong, simplified, attributes of the Divinity, there can be no difference in opinion; and I have found all nations and religions, with which I have been acquainted, perfectly to agree in these three grand essentials.

“Finding ourselves here, however, under such Almighty protection, what ought we to consider as our best course to ensure his favour? Most certainly, to fulfil the duties of the different stations and allotments through life, in which his Providence places us, to the best of our power and knowledge. Self-preservation is admitted by all as the first law of nature; by which is to be understood a decent care of our worldly pursuits, as well as personal defence, by all such fair means as do not wilfully, wantonly, or maliciously, injure others; and, until a man has a family of his own to provide for, his near relations should be considered by him as a part of

that self, so far as his abilities will enable him to give aid and assistance towards their preservation. For instance, should it please God to take me from this world before I have done as well by your brothers and sisters as I have by you, it will be your duty to supply my place with regard to them as far as your power admits.

“ Another grand duty is the faithful discharge of whatever employ we are in. Yours being a military employ, in which you may possibly rise to the highest honours of the profession, you should consider it not only possible but probable: let no opportunity, therefore, be omitted to acquire a perfect knowledge of military tactics, and do not merely satisfy yourself with learning a little parade-duty, as too many do, who then think themselves complete soldiers. Be assured, if you neglect to seek occasions of instruction while a young soldier, you will find it awkward, difficult, and disagreeable, (not to say disgraceful,) to acquire such knowledge, afterwards, as is requisite in an old officer. In a young soldier, there is merit in the acknowledgement of ignorance, with a view to gain information; and his superiors will esteem and honour him for such laudable attention to his duty, instead of giving way to idle habits and dissipated company. Get early habits of strict attention to your duty, and it will grow as you advance in rank, making

every thing easy and pleasant; but, if this be neglected, the reverse will be the case.

“ In the course of a long military life, you will have frequent opportunities of proving yourself a good citizen of the world, (as well as a good soldier,) by doing good and preventing evil. Attend well to this, and steadily discharge the social duties in life; rely firmly on the Providence of God, that every thing is wisely ordered for the best, although we may not perceive it; and recommend yourself to God by good actions that may benefit society, in preference to disputes of faith; act thus, and the thoughts of futurity will not occasion you much anxiety.

“ Thus much have I thought it my duty to observe on the score of religion, without wishing you to pin your faith on mine or any other man’s sleeve; but I do most earnestly wish you to think and judge for yourself, but with humility; and, what your conscience tells you is right, act up to.

“ The military service of the Honourable East-India Company, you have often heard me say, I considered the best in the world for a young soldier of fortune; since, being once appointed therein, it requires no farther interest or purchase, so necessary in other services; for, he is sure to rise regularly to the higher ranks in the service, provided his misconduct does not subject him to a loss of rank, by the sentence of a court-

martial. This service has likewise been made much better, by late regulations in favour of the Company's officers; but, with these great advantages on one hand, it should be considered that an officer's whole dependance is on his *good* or *ill* conduct; for, as there is no purchasing, so likewise there is no selling out. However necessary and commendable it is, therefore, for men to behave circumspectly, prudently, and attentively, in every station of society, to the proper discharge of their duty, still more so is it the case here, since a false step or two may subject them to the disgrace of loss of rank or entire dismissal from the service; and, greatly as I love you, my son, to hear of an honourable death would not grieve me so much. But all danger from this is easily avoided, by early habitation in a steady conduct, as before recommended; an assiduous attention to duty, a manly respect to your commanding-officers, a polite freedom of carriage and conversation to your companions and friends; avoiding boyish tricks and familiarities, which frequently breed mischief; accustoming yourself to be complaisant to all, but shunning (as you would the plague) low company, rioting, excess of drinking, and gaming or playing for any sum of money, the loss of which might make you uneasy and tempt you, for its recovery, to risk deeper and be ruined, as thousands have been.

“ Suffer not yourself to be tempted by the bad example of other youths, nor to be laughed out of what your own judgement tells you is right. *Resolution* is the foundation of every virtue; without it, there is none. Even those, who may try to ridicule or laugh at you at the first, will soon treat you with greater respect than they do each other, when they perceive that your conduct is uniformly steady and firm. Superior officers of credit and character will notice such conduct, and be glad of your company when they observe that you know how to respect yourself; therefore, let *resolution* be your main rule of conduct.

“ On your passage to India, be careful with whom you form any intimacy. Wait until you know a little of their character from their general behaviour, and this you may do without being particularly reserved. The officers of the ship, down to the fourth mate, are most of them gentlemen, with whom you may freely associate if you find them agreeable; but, with the inferior officers, such as the carpenter, boatswain, &c. you must avoid an acquaintance. Not but these men may be as worthy as those above them; but, in every naval and military service, there is a certain gradation, which must be attended to by every officer. The cadet or ensign is fit company for the general, but must not associate with the sergent, however respectable he may be in



this line. The midshipman is also fit company for the captain or admiral, but he must avoid intimacy with the warrant-officers; for, in proportion as a young man respects himself, by avoiding inferior company, he will be noticed by those of higher rank. This is not meant to encourage airs of pride and assumed consequence; far from it, for, nothing appears more contemptible: a pleasant condescending civility is much better and due to all men. In so long a passage, where people are confined together, most of the characters on board are discovered, decided on, and reported accordingly when they arrive in India: this makes it still more necessary for every young man to be very circumspect in his conduct during the passage.

“ You can not be too attentive to frequent washing and keeping yourself clean, particularly so in combing. Be careful of your clothes and whatever other little property you may have; husbanding it well, by spending no more than is necessary, for all fortunes are made by saving a little at first. Avoid making a shew of what little you do possess, and remember that he, who is not mindful of his own property, is not fit to be entrusted with that of others.

“ Keep a regular account of every thing, and accustom yourself to keep a journal, not only of transactions but likewise particular thoughts and sentiments, the perusal of which hereafter will

be a source of pleasing instructive amusement. But, above every other custom that I can recommend to your notice, at the close of every day, when retiring to rest, inquire within yourself if the last four-and-twenty hours have passed to the satisfaction of that never-failing monitor, your own conscience. If they have, bless God for it and encourage yourself to a continuance of doing well; but, if otherwise, whatever may have been the transgression, against yourself or others, humbly pray to Almighty God to strengthen your resolution to amend and not do the like again: acknowledgement of our errors, as soon as we become sensible of them, is one of the truest marks of genuine courage.

“ My dear son, there is one resolution I wish you to form and keep firmly until you arrive at one-and-twenty years of age; this is, to refrain from drinking more than three glasses of wine, or other liquors, after dinner, in general. Avow your resolution openly, and suffer not yourself to be tempted from it by the common drinking-parties of young men, who, thinking to shew the strength of their heads, are sure to betray the weakness of their understandings. Particular occasions may sometimes arise, in company with your superiors, when you may find it politically necessary to deviate a little rather than give offence, but endeavour to excuse yourself as much as you can and retire as soon as possi-

ble; for, whatever may be said at the moment, they will be sure to respect a young officer for such prudent conduct; and, if you should be *on duty* at the time, you can not be too determined and resolute in refusing, let who will try to tempt or enforce your drinking more than a very few glasses. What I have said, respecting temperance after dinner, applies nearly the same to the evening; and, if *on duty*, strictly so. However, on such particular occasions as I alluded to before, there is less inconvenience in drinking more freely in an evening than in the day. Attend to this injunction and advice for a few years, and your own discretion and judgement will direct you afterwards.

“ I come now to a subject I should have been glad to find an excuse for not mentioning or alluding to at all; but so strongly do I feel the necessity of it, by your removal to a distance by which any farther superintendence of your conduct, and consequent affectionate advice of a parent, is rendered impossible, that, unpleasant as it is, without it I feel assured my duty would not be discharged. You are arriving at a time of life when the youthful passions will become strong, and the warm climate you are going to may increase a desire for gratification. To expect or request an entire mortification, would be absurd; but, to bring them under a degree of subordination, so as

to prevent evil and ruinous effects to your person or property, is prudent, manly, and necessary. The expenses attending the married state, in India, are so very extravagant, and in a military line so inconvenient, that, to a *young* officer, it is death to all prospects of ever attaining a competency to return home with, should he imprudently engage in a matrimonial connection before he has acquired wherewithal to maintain a family or obtained some appointment, exclusive of the income arising from his station in the army. Therefore, however much you may have heard me advocate the cause of a connubial life, either in Europe or when with me in America, I must dissuade you from it in India, until you have acquired a fortune (or situation) sufficient to support it.

“To avoid this, many gentlemen in India run (without perceiving it at first) into a much greater inconvenience. The mere keeping of a native girl, at the first, is considered trifling, compared with the expenses of marriage, besides their being at liberty to release themselves at option. In both these expectancies, they are most commonly deceived. Children ensue, the attachment grows too strong for separation, and the Asiatic women use such luxurious artifices to fascinate their keeper, every moment of their time being studiously employed for that purpose, that, instead of lessening, their expenses are

frequently greater than if they had married a prudent woman; and although the natural claim of the children, arising from such connection, is as strong and just for the protection and affection of the father, yet it is not possible for him to receive the full delicate satisfaction that he would have done, had their features been freer from the Asiatic tinge of their mother.

“The warm early-invigorating climate of the East seems to have made it necessary for the legislators of that country to provide, in the best and easiest manner, towards relieving the strong propensities of Nature when they become ungovernable, (as likewise to prevent the evil consequences that might arise in private families,) by encouraging a distinct class of females, called *dancing-girls*, born to that state, or bought while infants, and brought up (strange as it may sound to European ears) to attend the various devout ceremonies of their religion, and yet submit to the desires of any who may pay them for their attendance, when sent for. They have, however, this singularly-great advantage, in comparison with prostitutes of other countries, that their principles have not been vitiated or degenerated from chaster education and practices; but, on the contrary, they have been taught to consider it a duty. It is right to observe, however, that prostitutes at the Presidency are nearly as bad as in Europe.

“ This information I have thought it needful to give you, on a subject I would gladly have avoided; but, by being thus forewarned of the respective inconveniences in that country, you may be better enabled to form your own judgement and prudence when compelled to make a choice, remembering that what might be inexcusable in one situation may be allowable in another.

“ And now, my dear son, as it may be the last material good I may have an opportunity of doing for you, I beg of you often to read the foregoing lines for your own sake and for mine, who have ever loved you most tenderly. Above all things, fear God, as the Supreme Author of all good; love him in your soul and be religious, (I have already explained my meaning as to religion,) but detest every tincture of hypocrisy. Preserve a regard for all mankind, of whatsoever nation, profession, or faith, while they are honest, and be ever so thyself; be assured it is the best policy in the end. Pay the strictest regard to truth, for no character is more justly despicable than that of a liar; I ever suspect such as capable of every other vice. Guard against idleness; it is the root of every misery, to which bad company gives the finishing stroke. Love economy without avarice, and be ever to thyself thy best friend. Fly from the excesses of debauchery, they will rot thy body

and prove a cancer in thy mind: to keep both sound, be never behind hand with thy correspondents, with thy creditor, with thy daily occupations, or with thy conscience; and thy soul shall enjoy peace. By using air, exercise, diet, and recreation, thy body shall possess health and vigour.

“ My dear son, should fortune frown, (which, depend upon it, she sometimes will,) then look round on thousands more wretched than thyself, and who perhaps less deserved to be so, and be content: content is better than gold.

“ Wish not for death, it is a sin; but scorn to fear it, and be prepared to meet it every hour, since come it must, while the good man smiles at its sting and defies its point. Beware of passion and cruelty, but rejoice in being good-natured, not only to man but to the meanest insect; that is, the whole animated creation without exception: forbear injuring them but for thy food or in thine own defence. To be cruel is the portion of the coward, while bravery and humanity go hand in hand and please the Creator. Obey, with temper and even pleasure, those set over thee; since, without knowing how to be obedient, none ever know how to command.

“ And now, my dear boy, if it should please God to take me away from my present wife, love her and her little children from thy heart, if ever thou hadst a real love for thy father, who re-

quests it of thee. She proved a most tender help in thy infant state; and, while thou art a brother to her helpless little ones, prove thyself also a guardian and parent, by such kindness as may be in thy power as thou advancest in life. Let thy good sense ever promote peace and harmony in my dear family, so that the blessings of Almighty God may overshadow you and them.

“My dear son, should Providence so direct that we meet no more in this world, may we all (together with thy deceased mother and many other valuable friends) meet happily in a future state; where, with a fuller and more extensive knowledge of our Heavenly Benefactor, our joy and happiness shall be more complete. That God will bless and protect my dear son, prays

“His most affectionate father,

“JOHN HARRIOTT.”



## CHAPTER XLVI.

*Loyalty-loan; proposals to the lord-mayor, bankers, and moneyed men, at the time of the bank stopping the farther issue of cash; answers.*



GREAT and comfortable as these provisions were for my two boys, serious attention was necessarily required to my other domestic concerns. Yet this did not prevent my endeavours to be useful to my country, to the best of my power and abilities, in the hour of trial and danger. I considered it the duty of all, who possibly could, to assist in filling the Loyalty-loan, in order to give vigour to Lord Malmesbury's embassy; this was my true and only motive, which I trust the following circumstance will sufficiently evince.

I had paid the first instalment of 500*l.* and, being in London when the great alarm took place, from the Bank of England demurring to issue cash, I heard that the bankers, merchants, and moneyed men, of the city, were met at the Mansion-house to consult what was best to be done: never did I see so many gloomy countenances, in the City of London, as on that day.

I seldom take long to consider in cases of emergency, and therefore wrote the following letter from my inn, addressed to the Right Hon. Brook Watson, then lord-mayor, the bankers, &c. at the Mansion-house.

“ My lord and gentlemen,

“ It is the duty of every man to step forward in such critical times and tender his best services; either personally, with his property, or with his advice, if he has any to offer. As a citizen of London, as an invalid half-pay officer, who has seen real service both at sea and on shore, with such knowledge as experience may have given him how to act or advise, and a property (though small in itself) sufficient to prove my fidelity, I thus make an offer; first, of assistance from property, to help to maintain the credit of the nation, and let those who have greater property do so in proportion; secondly, of advice, for the better defence of such parts of our coast as are most likely to be invaded; and thirdly, of my personal service, if required.

“ In point of assistance from property, I propose it thus: I subscribed 500*l.* to the Loyalty-loan, as a half-pay lieutenant's mite towards strengthening the national credit while Lord Malmesbury's negotiation was afloat. The exigencies of the times require a sacrifice of private to public interest: rather than increase the num-

ber of sellers of English stock, of which I am likewise a holder, I have directed American stock to be sold, to enable me to pay *the whole of my loan* at once, in hopes that my feeble example may stimulate others, who have greater power, to do the like; conceiving, that, if other subscribers would come forward at this moment of depression and do their utmost, it would strengthen the hands of government, the public credit of the nation, and do honour to the City of London in particular.

“My advice follows. As an active magistrate in the County of Essex, with a knowledge of its coasts, rivers, islands, &c. coupled with some military knowledge, I am persuaded that the following plan would be attended with incalculable benefit. Let the inhabitants of every parish on the coast, capable of bearing fire-arms, or even a pitch-fork, be enrolled at the parish-church; and, chusing their own officers from among themselves, according to their numbers, oblige them to assemble one day in every week, at the tolling of the church-bell, with a flag hoisted on the steeple, under pain of military law, for non-attendance or disobedience to their officers when assembled. The fire-arms in the parish (with necessary ammunition) to be put into such hands as are best suited for them; and those, who have not fire-arms, to be provided with long pikes; a weapon, which, with a little

discipline and resolution, may be made to do more execution, in the hands of a strong plain undisciplined man, than a musket and bayonet. Such of the inhabitants, as are not so capable of bearing arms or pikes, to have the charge of driving the cattle up the country. Proper lookout places to be fixed on, with watchmen to give the earliest intelligence of the appearance of an enemy on the coast. Masts to be erected from station to station, with appropriate signals to convey various intelligence, so as to give the necessary information for the more distant parishes to assemble, &c. and march where ordered by their officers. The whole to be under the direction and orders of some appointed military commander, who ought to possess local knowledge of the division: this commanding-officer to be assisted by all the neighbouring magistrates; with a variety of other arrangements, which time will not permit me to detail at present.

“ Of the great benefit arising from such measures, if properly adopted and managed, I feel confident; and that it might be done at little expense. The parishes to find the pikes and pay the men, when training; the country at large to pay them, when called on service. The landing a few thousand men would make no impression on a country where all were trained ready to op-

pose them ; or, should the enemy make so serious an attempt as to be too powerful for these irregulars, still they would be kept in check, until a regular military force could march to their assistance.

“ Such is my advice, which, if approved, may be recommended to the directing powers, with whom I pretend not to have sufficient weight to get it immediately introduced ; and, lastly, to carry any part of it into execution, my sword and time, if wanted, shall be at my country’s service.”

To this letter, which I dated from the inn I put up at, I received the following answer.

“ Sir,

“ I should be extremely remiss were I to delay my acknowledgements for your sensible letter of yesterday ; it expresses sentiments and suggests ideas worthy of the gentleman, the soldier, and the magistrate. You, sir, know it is not with the lord-mayor, aldermen, &c. to arrange modes of defence for the nation ; nor ought they to suppress any ideas suggested to them, which may have a tendency to public security. Hence, I think it my duty to send your letter to His Royal Highness the

Duke of York, whose considerate mind will avail itself of your opinions."

" I am, sir,

" Your most humble servant,

" BROOK WATSON."

Mansion-House,

28th of February, 1797.

On the following Friday, (March 3,) being at the Bank to pay in the whole amount of my subscription, as promised, the lord-mayor came, while I was settling with Mr Newland, to announce the victory gained over the Spanish fleet by Admiral Jervis; I embraced the opportunity, therefore, of introducing myself, to prove I was performing my promise of setting such example as I had recommended. His lordship, taking some letters from his pocket, presented me with one he had just received, and desired me to keep it. It was as follows:

*House-Guards, 2d March, 1797.*

" My lord,

" I have had the honour to lay your letter of the 28th ult. with its enclosure (which is now returned) before the Duke of York, and am commanded to express His Royal Highness's thanks to your lordship for the communication of Mr Harriott's very spirited and patriotic letter. His Royal Highness has

directed a copy to be taken of it, as it may be useful to refer to the advice it contains."

" I am, my dear lord,

" Your faithful and

obedient humble servant,

" ROB. BROWNRIGG."

Rt. Hon. Brook Watson,  
Lord-Mayor.

## CHAPTER XLVII.

*Thoughts and suggestions on the volunteer-system, comprehending the sea and river fencibles; plan for making volunteers more effectual.*



FROM some inquiries made long since, I fear that I stood a single example of paying in the whole of my loyalty loan, on the principle I recommended. My suggestions, respecting the erection of masts, &c. along the coasts, with appropriate signals to convey quick intelligence, have been literally carried into execution; and the numerous corps of town and parish volunteers, that have since been formed and officered

by their own nomination, make it not very improbable that my letter might give the first idea.

My thoughts were spontaneous, rising on the occasion as described; and the dates will shew it was long before the system of volunteer-defence was generally adopted. It is the idea of the thing, and not its perfection, I lay any claim to: mine were the crude hasty thoughts of the moment, which I have digested since, at my leisure, and endeavoured to impress on the minds of my superiors. For the sake of connection, I will introduce here, though in point of time not so correct, what I humbly conceive to be a much more effective way of training and employing volunteers, or, as I would term them, irregulars.

I am aware, that it may be deemed presumptuous in a humble individual to proffer advice to the governing powers of his country; yet, in these times, it would be still more unpardonable in any one, who, having had experience enough to enable him to think on the various means of defence against a threatening enemy, did not make known errors, where he conceived there were any, and suggest measures he might think likely to be more effectual. Should these suggestions attract notice and the smallest benefit arise, it will repay the writer a thousand-



fold all his labour, being happy in thus contributing his mite.

The very great and numerous bodies of the volunteer-corps, the sea and river fencibles, &c. certainly reflect the highest credit on themselves, as well as on the country at large; as I was among the foremost to attempt arousing the national spirit, as well as to lend my feeble local aid towards forming some of them, and yet continue to command a little tough knot,\* that in point of discipline and obedience yield to none, (and without being any additional expense to government,) I hope to be still considered as most friendly to the principle, although I think there is abundant room for improving the system. The following were my sentiments at the time I delivered them, and still continue; they were printed at the time and distributed in the neighbourhood.

\* The officers and men, amounting to upwards of eighty, attached to the Thames-police.

“ At a General Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Saint John, of Wapping, holden in the Vestry-Room on Monday, the 25th Day of July, 1803, to consider of forming an armed Association in the Parish, JOHN HARRIOTT, Esquire, one of the Magistrates at the Thames - Police Office, addressed the Meeting in the following Words:

“ Permit an old officer, who has seen some service both by sea and land, thus to address you:—Should there be no invasion, it is of little consequence how or in what manner the inhabitants of every parish are trained to resist an enemy. But, as it is admitted, by the first authorities, that a most daring, powerful, and inveterate foe is strongly determined to make an attempt to *invade, subdue, and enslave*, this country, I conceive, that, in order to be able to make the best defence, the wisest way would be first to suppose the enemy really landed, and ourselves called upon to oppose and resist an immediate attack. At such an awful time, how earnestly would every one (men of spirit in particular) lament that the *most effectual* means were not prepared, without any regard to *parade and show!*

If this be admitted, and the most capable inhabitants were *formed* and *trained* on this principle, *England, brave happy England*, the *whole united Kingdom*, might bid defiance to every threatening foe, however numerous, rash, and inveterate.

“ It requires but a small comparative learning to become a useful soldier, to what is wanted for a showy manœuvring parade, and the expense is proportionate. It is the *bold energy* with which it is conceived and determined to be carried into effect.

### CONQUER OR DIE

should be the sacred pledge given to each other, sooner than submit to the horrid slavery of French principles or foreign power. To die is easy, but to conquer we must be well prepared.

“ Your *King*, your *Houses of Parliament*, in fact, your own glorious and envied *constitution*, invite and say to you, ‘*make a choice, volunteer your services effectually and satisfactorily, or abide the consequence of constitutional compulsion.*’ *Who* can hesitate? My age would exonerate me; but my wounds, formerly obtained in the service of my country, would bleed afresh were I to remain inactive and not freely volunteer the best services I am capable of.

“ If I conceived there were any whose apathy wanted rousing, I would say, ‘Sons of Britons, the day of glory is arrived to prove your title to

Freedom, as descended from your ancestors. The bloody standard of despotic tyranny is raised to enslave you. Do ye not already hear the hoarse threatening murmurs of the soldiers, to ravish, murder, and destroy, your wives, your daughters, and your infant children? Forging ignoble fetters to enslave those who are dastardly enough to survive the loss of freedom. Britons! will ye bend your necks to the insulting cruel Corsican tyrant? to the Gallie yoke he is preparing for you? Already has he dared to boast he will make himself master of your destinies. 'Tis false, never! never! so long as Britons are true to themselves. To arms! therefore, to arms! and hurl Britain's proud defiance on her foes. Consecrate your voluntary service, in defence of your King and Country, by a religious vow, by laying your hand upon the altar, and there firmly dedicating and pledging yourselves to *conquer or die* in defence of your *religion*, your *king*, and *constitution*. I promise to be among the foremost to make the vow, and sign and seal it with my blood, to maintain the post at which I may be stationed."

Of the *sea-fencibles*, on whose aid, in case of an attempt to invade, so much has been reckoned in general, I hesitate not to declare, that, as they now are, there is more of evil than good produced by the system. Of landmen, in general, it cannot be supposed that they understand much

of sea-affairs; it is therefore not difficult to account for their error in thinking, that to embody all the fishermen, watermen, smugglers, &c. that are along the various coasts of this island, must be highly advantageous in resisting the approaches of an enemy; I feel assured, however, that I can convince them, as well as seamen, that it is not so, and for this plain reason, (though it may at first seem rather paradoxical,) that the sea-fencibles are composed mostly of fine stout young men, inured to every hardship on the water by smuggling, fishing, &c. who enrol themselves in those fencible-corps, chiefly for the sake of the protection. The navy, therefore, is thus deprived of their full and efficient help; and not only so, but every such man would be of ten times the value, on board a proper vessel for encountering the enemy, than he can be in any of the cockle-shell boats, &c. that they are to act in as fencibles. But the fact is, that, impotent as their strength would be if so applied, two-thirds of the younger fencibles would not be in the way at the time their service is required; for the truth of which I dare appeal to the officers commanding sea-fencibles, that, on any sudden alarm, and consequent orders for assembling, the chance is, that not more than one-third of the whole (including the aged) would be found. The stout hearty men are almost constantly out, employed in smuggling, &c.; but

we will admit that they could be and were all at home at the time wanted, ready and willing to do their utmost to annoy the enemy, in the boats and craft intended and fitted, (of which, nearly nine-tenths are mere fishing-boats belonging to the place, and not in the least suited for the purpose,) and prepared to receive one cannonade, the only arms they are provided with. I would call on any impartial naval officer, who has seen service, to say whether any man can point a gun, with any degree of truth, in such tubs of boats, that are bobbing up and down in all directions, when in the smallest popple of a sea or motion from a swell. Near to the enemy they dare not go, as a small discharge of musquetry only would perforate through and through such boats, to the ready destruction of the men and the boats too, and at a distance they could accomplish but an occasional slight injury, that would not retard the enemy a moment. To place this in a clearer point of view, let us reverse the case, and suppose an English army of from forty to one hundred thousand men, properly equipped and embarked, for the invasion of France; should we not ridicule and laugh to scorn their pretending to oppose us in fishing-boats? The only utility I can conceive such slender craft to be of, at such a time, would be in attending our vessels of real force, to take possession of the enemy that surrendered to them. For that pur-

pose, the old fisherman and disabled seamen, who are past performing a more permanent and active service, together with such of their apprentices as are yet too young to render greater aid, would do as well as able men, and produce all the benefit reasonably to be expected from such craft. I am aware, that it may be said, there are some stout cutters, &c. equipped with one large carronade, for the same purpose. My answer is, there are but few in comparison, and they are seldom at home, being mostly engaged in smuggling, and manned wholly by the stout resolute fellows, who, I observed, are thus protected to the injury of the revenue of the country, when they might be much more usefully employed in the royal navy.

Old and disabled seamen and fishermen, with their boys, as sea-fencibles, would be making something out of nothing, in a military point of view, while the present system of enrolling many of the stoutest young men along the coast, for the slender chance of being a little useful, is reducing a strong capable force to almost nothing.

The *river-fencibles*, comprehending all the various corps of fencibles upon and attached to the River Thames, it would be gross error to consider as affording any real military aid against an enemy advancing so near the metropolis, as where their services would be expected. This must not be understood as meaning in the least

to derogate from the true spirit and courage with which the officers of these corps, as well as other volunteers, would be ready and willing, together with the men under their command, to meet and fight the enemy wherever they could; but I venture to say this will not be on the River Thames. If the strength of the river-fencibles is calculated upon in that view, I conceive it to be an error. Still, the river-fencibles may be reckoned a very useful and necessary body of men, for the purpose of aiding our real military force, in transporting and conveying them, with their stores, &c. from one place to another. Their merit in this might be as great as in really opposing the enemy in battle; but then, as I observed of the sea-fencibles, they do not require, for this kind of service, such able active men (seamen, watermen, and others) as are now protected under the denomination of River, Deptford, and Greenwich, fencibles. Some hundreds of these would be better employed in serving their King and Country, than in the way they now live.

I have already expressed the high opinion I entertain of the *zeal* and *spirit* of the great body of volunteers on the land; and I trust and hope, that neither they nor the sea or river fencibles will conceive that any thing I advance is intended, in the slightest degree, to lessen the high esteem and great character they so well deserve from their country. Yet it may possibly



startle some to hear me assert, that, with one-fourth part of their numbers, organized, armed, trained, and disciplined, as I am about to suggest, (leaving the remaining part of the volunteers as they now are,) I feel satisfied that an invading enemy might be more effectually opposed than by the remaining three-fourths. By mentioning one-fourth, it is not to be understood as a limitation to any number, more or less, as requisite for the service I am going to suggest. The numbers to be trained, in the manner I wish, would be for the superior judgement of government, if the plan should be thought worthy of adoption.

*Plan for making volunteers more effectual.*

If a part of the volunteer-corps (particularly those upon the sea-coasts and parts adjacent) were trained to the use of swivel wall-piece guns, mounted with stock and locks, the barrels six or eight feet long, the bore one inch diameter, and four men appointed to each gun, they would be able to annoy an enemy at a much greater distance, advancing or retreating with more facility and safety, than by any other mode. The length of the guns, turning on a swivel, would enable a common marksman to aim with the correctness of a rifle-man. Every hedge-row and bank would serve to fix their wall pieces and conceal them

until they had fired, when they might take a new position, if necessary. The distance, at which such a piece would do execution, would add to their security, and encourage their irregular attacks by continually harassing the enemy, with but little risk of injury to themselves.

First, on their approach towards landing, for more than a mile would these wall-piece guns do considerable execution among them; again, while they were landing; and, after they were landed, by hanging upon their flanks, &c. day and night, the latter in particular. So that, from the constant alarm from balls of such size penetrating their camps in all directions, from a distance their scouting-parties could not reach until the wall-piece irregulars had taken another position, and being thus surrounded by a defence they could not see, the whole country would appear alive to oppose them. They would thus never obtain rest, and become half exhausted, as well as impeded in their progress, by the time a sufficient regular force could be brought against them. To oppose any strong force the enemy might land, the regular volunteers alone could not prevent their ravaging the country; but, by retreating slowly and checking them in front, while the wall-piece irregulars harassed them all round, every volunteer-corps, thus situated, would be immediately and essentially useful.

Forty men, with ten guns, might be called a company, having a captain and lieutenant to command them. To six companies, a field-officer (say a major) might be appointed, who would receive orders from the commanding-officer where to endeavour to annoy the enemy most, and then give his directions accordingly to the captains of companies. The duty of the four men to each gun would be thus: one, the best marksman, to be called captain of the gun, as on board a ship, and to direct the others. Two of them to carry the piece, which they would be able to run briskly along with; and the fourth man to carry ammunition. In advancing or retreating, every building, every wall, every bank, every hedge, every copse of wood, or orchard, would serve to conceal them and to annoy the enemy in every direction.

I know of no mode by which a considerable part of the volunteer-corps could (as young soldiers) be so beneficially and usefully employed, against an invading enemy. Frenchmen, after they are landed, whatever may be the force accompanying, should never be allowed to sleep unannoyed so long as they remain armed. Possessing little or no cavalry, an invading enemy can not scour the country far enough to prevent this harassing annoyance and constant alarm. The wall-piece marksmen would have great advantage over the rifle-men whom the enemy might

bring with them, who, ignorant of the country, would keep within or close to their own lines, while our people, from a knowledge of the country, would be at a certainty how to advance or retreat in safety.

When on such duty, any light waggons, vans, or carts, with two or more horses, or riding horses, might be impressed, if not volunteered, to aid and attend each company, to quicken their advance or retreat, where the roads are good, and they might be employed to convey surplus ammunition. The fore parts of such vehicles might be easily prepared to fix two of their wall-pieces to fire from, when convenient. Active men, of any size, would suit this service, and require but little time for training; the best dress they could adopt would be smock frocks and trowsers.

I hope not to be thought arrogating too much, on the experience that time and opportunities, both as a soldier and a sailor, have afforded me; although disabled from active service, I am not the less observant of what passes in the military world. The French appear to have gained much of their advantages by advancing in strong columns, in preference to an extended line; from which, it is reasonable to suppose, that, if ever they are enabled to land in any force on our coasts, they will pursue similar measures. I conceive, therefore, it would be our wisest plan to

prepare against the possibility of such an event; to meet them in their own way, by keeping our strength together in certain points and sufficient distances from the coast, so that, upon their landing, a proportionate superior strength to the enemy might as soon as possible be marched against them. Otherwise, should we attempt to defend our very extended coast by line, the probability would be, that, by rapid movements with their concentrated force, they might cut through our line, and obtain more considerable advantage, by encountering us in detail, than they could when met by an equally concentrated force on our part.

And here it would be that the plan I propose, of volunteer wall-piece riflemen, would render much essential service. They might securely oppose the enemy, at considerable distances, before they landed, while landing, and continually after; more especially if aided (as no doubt they would be) by some of our regular cavalry, as well as the light-horse volunteers of the district. In plain truth, I am strongly satisfied, that, were all the volunteers along the coasts and parts adjacent trained as wall-piece irregulars, their service in this way would be incalculably more than it is possible for them to render as they now are. I believe, likewise, that great numbers would then join them, who, for various reasons, at present keep aloof. In this manner, they would fear-

lessly harass the enemy in every direction and situation, until met by an English army in sufficient strength to give them battle; when these volunteer wall-piece irregulars would probably continue rendering greater service than those I distinguish as regular volunteers, of whom, in a first close engagement, without officers of experience, it is not too much to say they would fight to great disadvantage.

This is humbly yet confidently submitted, by one who would readily and cheerfully devote himself to oppose any invading enemy, to the utmost of his power, in the irregular mode of attack he has here suggested. Nor has he a doubt but there are thousands more, who, like him; though incapable of one service, would spiritedly engage in this.

I know there are many who contend, that it is on our regulars *alone* we must rely for protection; *chiefly* I readily agree, but not *solely*. If the war continues, we shall not only have occasion for irregulars, as well as regulars, but for valour of every kind and among every description of men, civil and military. Our exertion must be commensurate with the magnitude of the prize we contend for; we are fighting for our existence as a nation, and we must fight one and all.

On this subject, I will only farther add, that men, thus trained and armed to oppose the in-

vaders, on and near the coasts where they reside, would be happy to know that their families, their stock, &c. were moving securely from the enemy while they formed a barrier between them. Their families would feel equally secure in their removal, instead of increasing the alarm and danger by an over eagerness to save themselves. The common peasantry of the country, likewise, would be encouraged to join and might render considerable service, especially if allowed the pay of a soldier during such service, instead of wandering about the country out of employ, and consequently ready to engage in mischief by the false allurements of the seditious.

## CHAPTER XLVIII.

*Suggestions sent to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, at the time of the mutiny in the royal navy.*



AT the time of the mutiny on board the fleet at Spithead, and afterwards at the Nore, I acknowledge I felt more apprehensive of serious danger to this country than from any other event I have ever known.

I took the liberty of addressing a letter to the Lords of the Admiralty, from which I extract the following, and I still think that the principle therein recommended is equally good for adoption now or hereafter.

It was this: that at the close of any war, every seamen, &c. who had entered and served in the royal navy as a good and orderly seaman, &c. (certified by the report of his commanding-officer,) should be entitled to a medal, accompanied by a certificate, identifying the person; and, according to the length of time he had thus faithfully served, or being invalided by wounds, all such seamen, &c. should be entitled to a weekly al-



lowance, suitable to their incapacity of supporting themselves; the quantum of such allowance should be mentioned on the back of the certificate from the Admiralty, to be confirmed by an order of two magistrates in the neighbourhood of the parish he belonged to, whenever he became chargeable to such parish; unless, in the judgment of the magistrates, the officers of the parish could assign sufficient reason why the allowance directed from the Admiralty ought not to be made. In which case, an appeal, stating the objections, should be made to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, who should have a power to adjudge and finally determine.

A register of such volunteer seamen, being kept from the time of their first entering, with the parish they belong to, would not only be a check to their bad behaviour or desertion, but, when the services of those who were still capable were again wanted, they might be readily summoned by sending to the officers of their respective parishes; and, if they did not appear in a given time, or assign sufficient reason for not attending to serve after receiving such notice, or knowing that the country was again at war, in either of these cases they should be liable to lose the benefit of their former certificate. An allowance, from six pence to one shilling a day, (or more,) according to their length of service, age, and disability, would be a comfortable expectation

and encouragement for men to prefer the royal navy to the merchants service, and to behave orderly and well while serving, from the fear of being reported undeserving. Nor is such allowance too much for the parish to pay for the protection afforded by the bravery and good conduct of such parishioners, in preference to their ordinary poor, between whom there ought to be some manifest distinction. I am aware, that some objection may be made on account of its falling heavier on particular parishes, near the coast, than on those inland; but I believe not so much as might be imagined, and the inequality might be easily remedied, especially if a similar provision were made for soldiers, who had seen real active service.

My letter was dated the 5th of June, 1797, and on the following day I received a letter of thanks from the lords commissioners for my suggestions.

## CHAPTER XLIX.

*Origin of the Thames-police; riot and assault, with intent to destroy the same; two men killed and others wounded in quelling the riot; one of the ringleaders condemned to death; salutary consequences.*



I come now to a very important part of my life, not merely as respecting myself, but likewise the great commercial interests of this country. I allude to the origin and formation of the Thames-police.

In frequent conversations with a worthy near relation, (Mr Staples,) who was a Police-Magistrate, I was led to consider the great advantages that would result to all concerned in the shipping-commerce of the Port of London, if a river-police was established. I soon formed an outline and consulted my relation, who much approved of it. I waited on the lord-mayor, as conservator of the river, and was informed the city had nothing to do with it. I made various inquiries, and at last wrote to the Duke of Portland, then secretary-of-state for the home-department,

with a plan for a River-police; my letter was dated the 30th of October, 1797.

My original plan was on a larger scale than the one adopted; the estimate I calculated at 14,000 *l.* a year, the present is but 8000 *l.* And now, when I look back, it surprizes me to think that so much was achieved, with so small a comparative strength, against the numerous strong hoards of desperately-wicked water-pirates, that had so long existed, without an attempt being made to impede their progress.

I imagine that it was the largeness of the proposed expense that prevented its being noticed so early as I wished and expected. The necessity and usefulness of such an institution appeared to me so evident, that I concluded it only wanted to be mentioned in order to be soon adopted; yet I do most candidly allow and firmly believe, that, but for the superior knowledge and clearer insight into the management of obtaining attention to things of this kind, which I had the good fortune to experience some months afterwards, when introduced to Mr Colquhoun, the plan for the river-police would have died in embryo. I acknowledge to possess a certain pride of feeling, which is not the best calculated for getting forward in the world. I should have no difficulty, for instance, in making the first direct application to the most august personage or assembly that can exist, yet nothing but dire

necessity could make me dance long attendances in expectation on either. This pride, that I speak of, is not owing to the slightest wish to withhold a respectful attention to my superiors in rank and situation in life, for I rejoice and feel gratified in every opportunity of shewing such respectful esteem to men elevated by talents, rank, and character; but I can not bend to an obsequiousness that has an appearance of sinking or lessening my own character.

In the April following, I received an invitation to dine at Mr Colquhoun's, a gentleman whom I then only knew by name; I accompanied Mr Staples, who desired me to take my plan for a river-police with me to shew to Mr Colquhoun, and for that purpose we were to go an hour sooner. Mr Colquhoun was pleased to express a very flattering approbation, and requested me to leave the plan with him, that he might shew it to Mr Dundas, now Lord Melville. I felt, as I expressed myself, much obliged, and did as he desired; and the next day I sent another copy to Rowland Burdon, Esq. (a gentleman, who, admitting me among the number of his private friends, conferred an honour I shall ever prize as invaluable,) requesting his aid towards getting it introduced and noticed.

I waited also on some of the Elder Brethren of the Trinity-Corporation, as gentlemen peculiarly qualified to judge of its importance and probable

benefit to the commercial interest of the Port of London: their judgement not only confirmed my opinion, but their extensive local knowledge pointed out other benefits which I had not then contemplated. My acquaintance since with Mr Colquhoun warrants my assertion that he is not only one of the most punctual men living, but I think him the most indefatigable persevering man I ever knew in whatever he undertakes. On Sunday, the 22d of April, 1798, I saw and dined with this gentleman for the first time, and on the 25th he favoured me with the following letter.

“ Sir,

“ I have lost no time in transmitting your very sensible paper to Mr Dundas, which contains a very excellent plan for the protection of shipping in the River-Thames, to which I ardently hope due attention may be paid. It probably escaped you to mention the propriety of placing *fire engines* on each of the barges, and I have supplied that deficiency from the suggestion contained in the paper you left with me on Sunday. I have mentioned to Mr Dundas what I knew of the respectability of your character, and of your great experience and knowledge of matters of this kind, which I hope may induce him to request a conference. I thank you for the perusal of your very excellent plan for

guarding the sea-coast, written in the month of November last. From its similitude to the system adopted by government, I cannot entertain a doubt of great benefit being derived by the country from what you suggested. Agreeably to your desire, I return you the plan under cover.

“ I am, with esteem, dear sir,

“ Your obedient humble servant,

“ P. COLQUHOUN.”

“ John Harriott, Esq.”

From this time, Mr Colquhoun incessantly exerted himself until he obtained the sanction of government for the establishment of what was at first called the Marine-police; and, but for his great exertions with the West-India merchants, as well as with His Grace the Duke of Portland and Mr Dundas, I am satisfied that the River-police would not then, if ever, have been adopted.

With Mr Colquhoun, I was appointed to act, and the office was opened at Midsummer, 1798. In the organization and carrying it into complete execution, I need not hesitate in saying I took a full share. We seized the bull by the horns, and never quitted our hold for upwards of two years. It was a labour not unworthy of Hercules, and we succeeded, by our joint efforts, in bringing into reasonable order some thousands of men, who had long considered plunder as a privilege.

Mr Colquhoun's Treatise on the Police of the River Thames sufficiently explains and shews the state of the river, previous to the establishment of a police-institution. I will, therefore, only mention one circumstance, to shew to what a pitch of depraved audacity they carried and executed their robberies.

A captain of a ship in the river, turning out one morning in the summer, soon after day-light, heard men's voices, and walked forward to learn the cause. Looking over the bows of the ship, he saw several men in a large boat, and inquired what they were doing there. One of them looking up, said, "Ah! captain, is it you? how are you?" and, on the captain repeating his question, to know what they were about, he replied, with a kind of dry indifference, "only weighed your anchor, captain, and cut your cable, that's all; good morning, captain!" and away they went with the anchor and cable up with the tide, through London-bridge, clear away long before he could procure help to follow them. Indeed, such was their daring and well-known ferocity, that those, who knew well what they were about and saw them when committing such depredations, were afraid to divulge such knowledge. The impunity with which these river-pirates were allowed to plunder induced others to do the same; until, with their numbers, their outrage in-



creased to so great a height as to threaten to overthrow the commerce of the Port of London.

The arm of the law, however, when resolutely and steadily exerted, may be made to work wonders; and it is yet in the recollection of hundreds if not thousands of creditable people, that, in this instance, the River-police has wrought a prodigious reform. Among others, it is not a small thing to have so far reclaimed such an unruly set of beings as the half-savage Irish coal-heavers, who, from inveterate enemies, assembling at the commencement of the institution avowedly to destroy the magistrates and all that belonged to it, do now consider them as their best friends. There are from twelve to fourteen hundred of this class of men, who mostly reside in the neighbourhood of the office.

Previously to the establishment, these men had long been in the constant practice of each man taking his sack, containing two or three bushels of coals, whenever he went on shore from the ship he was unloading. Neither the captain nor owner of the ship or cargo durst resist their taking what they claimed as a perquisite; and most of these men, having followed it as a custom of their predecessors, thought they had a fair title to such coals: when found with a boat ready to sink with their plunder, and made to account before a magistrate how they came by it, they conceived themselves to be the injured party.

*Custom* was their invariable plea, (and so it was with every other description of working men on the river, when detected in the act of bringing on shore with them from forty pounds to two hundred weight of sugar, coffee, pepper, tea, or other articles,) and in vain was it that Mr Colquhoun and myself laboured hard to convince them of their error; and, by reprimanding only at first and ordering the coals, &c. to be taken away, endeavoured to correct the evil.

Obliged at last to resort to severer measures, and punish those who repeated the offence after admonition, they threatened resistance; and, trusting to their strength in numbers, some hundreds of them assembled before the office, threatening, with most horrid imprecations, the magistrates and all that belonged to the institution, if some coal-heavers, then under examination, were not discharged. However we might have been disposed to shew lenity to the offenders before us, had we not been thus threatened, it now became a duty to be firm: a small penalty was ordered to be paid, or consequent imprisonment.

This was in October, a few months after the office was established; and, between seven and eight in the evening, we were proceeding to examine other prisoners on a charge of felony concerning ships stores, when some hundreds of coal-heavers, encouraged by notorious receivers

and others, made a most furious attack on the office, the windows of which fronted the street. They first attempted the door; when, finding that too strongly secured for them to force, they tore up the pavement in the street, and soon demolished the shutters of four windows of the room we were in. It was fortunate, that none of these large stones which they threw in struck any of us; for, with their weight and the force they came with, a broken limb would have been the least to expect. I believe I was the only person in the office, at the time, that had ever smelt gunpowder burnt in anger before, and many years had elapsed since I had been so engaged.

I immediately saw the necessity of prompt resolute measures, for the infuriate madness of the assailants grew stronger every instant: ordering the fire arms, seeing to their loading, and giving necessary directions, seemed to electrify and make me young again. Not a moment was to be lost; for, if they could once have got in, having but six or seven officers with us at the time, we must have been soon over-powered. There were two or three gentlemen from the City, attending on business; but one ran up to the top of the house and hid himself, and the rest made a prudent retreat by getting into a boat and rowing away. As soon as the pistols were loaded, I ordered them to fire down on the assailants. We

soon heard that one of them was shot dead: he proved to be one of the ringleaders. They dragged his body away from the front, retreating from the office to a short distance, but threatening dreadful vengeance.

We then ordered the door to be opened, and advanced into the street, where Mr Colquhoun read the riot-act; at which instant, one of our officers, standing close to us, was shot, as he held his arm up, through the palm of his hand; and soon after, another of our officers, who had advanced nearer to the rioters, ran past us, crying out that he was shot. A few more discharges from our pistols drove them away, but we heard they were assembling in greater numbers, determined to renew the attack. The volunteers in the neighbourhood soon after assembled, and came readily to assist us. Hearing, about eleven o'clock, that a part of the rioters were still together at a public-house, some distance from the office, I accompanied the volunteers to the house, with intent to secure any I might find there; but they were gone, and from that time all remained quiet. Our poor fellow, who was shot, was taken to the hospital, where he died.

Whether any, or how many, more of the riotous assailants were shot, we could not learn. One of the principal ringleaders was apprehended, tried, and condemned: others fled, and kept out of the way for a time, whom we might

likewise have convicted. But, as enough had been done for public justice, and as every appearance of farther disturbance had subsided, though we continued punishing offences similar to that which occasioned the riot, Mr Colquhoun and myself thought it best not to proceed against more of them; contenting ourselves, as from time to time they appeared before us, with acquainting them that we were not ignorant of their former proceedings, and admonishing them to make a grateful use of such forbearance for the future. I have often since received, and still continue to receive, much satisfaction in seeing some of those, who might have suffered if tried, now maintaining themselves and families in comfort, and are among the most orderly.

Severe as the measures were that we were obliged to take, to quell so outrageous an assault, I am persuaded much good has ensued from it. The rough ignorant multitude were forcibly convinced that the magistrates were not to be frightened from doing their duty, which is a main point in police as well as in military concerns. It is true, that courage in a magistrate is not likely to be called into exertion so often as in a military man; but, whenever it does happen to be necessary, as in all riots and tumults, where his presence is required, I conceive it to be of more importance for a magistrate to possess a cool intrepid firmness than it is in the other; as

was dreadfully proved in the riots of 1780, which, from all that I have heard, might easily have been put a stop to but for the timidity of the chief magistrate of the city.

The extensive benefits derived from the River-police were so conspicuous, that, after two years trial of its efficacy, government thought proper to pass an act, making the institution permanent, with an allowance of 8000*l.* per annum for its support: a sum of money, which, instead of being a burden, I am confident yields a very considerable profit to government, arising to the revenue by the almost entire suppression of smuggling on the River Thames. The difference it made in the sales, at the Custom-house alone, was said to be so great, that, not having the means of proving, I do not chuse to mention the sum that was reported; but the annual allowance for maintaining the institution is small in comparison. I feel equally well satisfied, that the saving in the plunder of naval, ordnance, and victualling stores, is to the full as great as the other; and here, again, I am fearful of repeating what I have heard the officers of the navy and victualling stores at Deptford declare to be their opinion, the amount would appear so enormous.

At the commencement, there were thousands of plunderers and hundreds of receivers; the former, I believe, are reduced to less than hundreds, and the latter to tens. I have the satis-

faction, therefore, of having lived to see the good it has produced, and to hear it acknowledged by all from whom such acknowledgement is desirable and creditable.

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## CHAPTER L.

*After the storms and struggles of an adventurous and eventful life, the Author's grateful satisfaction at having brought his vessel safe into port; his content and resignation.*

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Thus have I brought my bark safe into port; and, though somewhat shattered and unfit for sailing far under a roving commission, the timbers are yet sound and still capable of harbour-duty.

The even tenor of the last ten years has enabled me to turn some of my attention to an improvement for working of ships pumps, which I had in contemplation for many years, as a point of equipment that had been too much neglected. The superiority of a *horizontal* or *capstan-bar* motion, at which a man stands firm, without injuring his loins, has been so incontesti-

bly proved, that I flatter myself it will be the means of saving many lives as well as much property, on board leaky ships at sea, long after I am forgotten as the inventor.

Under the blessing of Providence, I have lived to see five out of seven of my children so far advanced in life; that the future lies more with them than myself. My own wants are bounded and supplied by a moderate competency; additional riches might give something more to convenience, but nothing to mental happiness. Insatiable and unbounded as were my curiosity and rambling desire of knowledge, in early life, the world has now nothing new for me to admire or covet. To be compelled to live in a state of fashionable affluence or courtly rank, would be as irksome and unpleasant as formerly my ambition led me to wish for it with avidity. The greatest pageantry or show, that human magnificence can exhibit, would not tempt me to any particular exertion to view it; yet I would still toil in any cause of humanity, or climb up a burning mountain to view any great operation of Nature, as enlarging my views and giving new energies to my adoration of the Great Omnipotent.

I am no misanthrope, but look back, with more pleasure than regret, at the various struggles and misfortunes that have fallen to my lot; freely acknowledging the conviction of my mind to be, that Adversity has been my best teacher

